A

Further Examination

OF OUR

Preſent *American* Meaſures

AND OF

The Reaſons and the Principles

On which they are founded.

BY THE AUTHOR OF

Conſiderations on the Meaſures carrying on with Reſpect to the Britiſh Colonies in North-America.

An Engliſh Whig can never be ſo unjuſt to his Country and to right Reaſon, as not to be of opinion; that in all civil Commotions, which Side ſoever is the wrongful Aggreſſor, is accountable for all the evil Conſequences.

Lord Moleſworth's Preface to Franco-Gallia.

In one and the ſame Nation, when the fundamental Principles of their Union are ſuppoſed to be invaded . . . . . the only Tribunal to which the Complainants can appeal is that of the God of Battles, the only Proceſs by which the Appeal can be carried on is that of a civil and inteſtine War.

Blackſtone, b. 1, c. 3.

BATH: Printed by R. CRUTTWELL,

For R. BALDWIN, Pater-noſter-Row; and E. and C. DILLY, in the Poultry, LONDON.

MDCC LXXVI.

A Further Examination OF OUR Present American Realities AND OF The Realms and the Principles On which they are founded.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE writer was not aware to what a length his work would run; until it had been ſome time in the preſs. He preſumes however to publiſh it; now that it is printed. The public will no doubt find the proper remedy for its bulk by being no more troubled with it; than they pleaſe. Some very material alterations have happened in our American affairs; ſince that it was firſt in the printer's hands. Certain accounts are come of the Provincials having made themſelves maſters of Fort St. John's, Chamblee and Montreal in Canada and of their approaching or beſieging Quebec. Our people likewiſe appear to have burnt ſome places and to have attempted more on the ſea-coaſt. Theſe things affect the ſubject before us and eſpecially with reſpect to the terms of peace and of accommodation. The Reader is therefore deſired to make in his mind allowance for this change of circumſtances.

ERRATA.

Page 42, line 27, dele *base*.

P. 45, l. 18, for *under that infamy*, read *under the infamy*.

P. 56, l. 6, for *is* read *was*.

P. 60, l. 4, for *essential* read *especial*.

P. 61, l. 15, dele *under*.

P. 67. last line, for *defect* read *defects*.

P. 82, l. 13, for *and* read *or*.

P. 111, l. 20, for *mime* read *mine*.

P. 125, l. 13, for *out of the* read *from his*.

A

FURTHER EXAMINATION.

THE writer of the following papers has before troubled the public concerning our preſent civil contention: neither his words nor they of wiſer than him were then heard; our affairs are from being at thoſe times bad become now much worſe: theſe increaſing difficulties do but too well warrant an individual to offer once more his humble ſentiments on the ſubject: the counſels of thoſe at the helm have hitherto not been ſo ſucceſsful as to preclude all other from being propoſed. Let us a little look back upon our hiſtory. We and our colonies of North-America were lately in the utmoſt harmony and tranquillity: the ſame ſtate might have continued, if that our miniſters could have been con-

tented with it: they began to trouble it about the tea: that circumſtance gave riſe to ſome diſtaſts and diſturbances: theſe were pretended to require the ſending of ſhips and of troops, the overturning of charters, the ſtopping up of ports and the taking away the inqueſt of blood in the country, where they happened. Fleets and armies are not always the beſt peace-makers nor oppreſſion the ſureſt cure for diſſatisfaction. Theſe means much increaſed the miſchief. Our miniſters thereupon repeated and heightened their remedies. We ſent more men of war and more regiments having found ſuch very ill effects from thoſe, which went before: we ſtrived to ſtarve the people there by preventing their procuring proviſions, which proved but an unlucky manner of reconciling them to us; we forbad them their trade and their fiſheries, by which means we drew from their leaders to ourſelves the diſcontents ariſing from the reſtraints upon their commerce: We contrived to make the conteſt a common cauſe and quarrel of all our colonies, whereby we exceedingly weakened ourſelves and ſtrengthened to the greateſt degree the league againſt us; if any application

cation came from them or from any of the firſt men of our country on their behalf we anſwered it with rejection, leſt they ſhould ſlacken or ſuſpend their operations from any hopes and expectations of peace. We have by this very extraordinary conduct brought on an open, an avowed, a declared civil war with thirteen colonies of that continent united and combined together againſt us. We have ſown the ſeed, we have nurſed, have watered, have raiſed and reared the plant; the tree is now come to its maturity, we find it to bear bitter fruit nauſeous to the palate and noxious to the health; we pretend to complain of the owners of the ſoil; but the whole nation both at home and abroad muſt ſwallow down the poiſonous produce, that our political quacks may have the profit and the benefit of adminiſtring it. This is the American ſcene. The ſame miniſters have ſown the dragon's teeth in our ſettlements of the Eaſt-Indies and are dooming to famine and to diſtreſs our iſlands of the Weſt; Ireland is diſcontented and impoveriſhed; Spain is armed; France is ſtrengthening and recovering; the nation at home is deſponding of its condition and ſinking under its

burthens. We are in the mean time not to conſider which way we came into theſe perplexities and difficulties; we are not to return and to retreat by treading our ſteps backwards; we are to go on becauſe we have got ſo far; our having begun at firſt with folly and with madneſs is an unanſwerable reaſon for our proceeding with fury and with deſperation.

All the old and the mutual ties, the union, the conjunction between Great-Britain and our ancient North-America are now cut, ſevered and diſſolved: acts of parliament, acts of aſſembly, orders of council, charters are between us become only a dead letter and waſte paper: the authority of the mother-country on the one hand and the duty of our colonies on the other are totally and abſolutely cancelled: our protection is changed into war and into waſte towards them and their dependence into reſiſtance and into a return of hoſtility towards us: The dominion of Great-Britain over rich and vaſt territories ſo lately her own extends now no further than our cannon can command: we have parted with our prodigious poſſeſſions on that continent only for the hopes and the proſpect of conquering

quering them again; they are in future all to be recovered by the dint of the ſword and the puſh of the pike; the next relation or conditions between us muſt be juſt, as the chance of arms ſhall decide and determine; but what ought moſt nearly to concern us, we have parted with a people who have for ages paſt been to us moſt cordial, as countrymen; moſt affectionate, as friends; moſt faithful, as allies; moſt dutiful, as deſcendants and dependants; and, what ſome may value above all, moſt profitable and moſt beneficial, as inhabitants of our provinces. All conſiderations of intereſt diſcarded out of the queſtion, can any man but be moved with the reflection of our ingratitude and our inſenſibility towards this community, who have certainly deſerved after a very different manner at our hands? If ſtateſmen and miniſters muſt be made of ſtuff fit for ſuch meaſures; God grant to me and to mine an humble life, in which we may preſerve ſome remains and ſenſations of humanity!

Let us however baniſh all theſe fooliſh feelings of the human breaſt; let us leave the mean ſubject of morality to caſuiſts

or to philoſophers; let us conſider our preſent proceedings in the light only of policy and of ambition, the ſuperior objects of the great and the ſublime ſpirits, with whom we are going to reaſon and to argue. We are told by thoſe the beſt informed, that this country contains three millions of ſouls. All due allowances therefore made for ſlaves or for any others not to be taken into our account, there will on that number remain not ſo few as four hundred thouſand fighting or fencible men. Their popular forms of government ſuffer and enable them to arm all theſe: they are now in fact availing themſelves of that advantage; they are turning their whole country and continent into ſoldiery. We were before told what might be expected on this head: it gained then no credit: we ſhall now bid fair to believe our own eyes. Theſe are circumſtances, which majorities cannot at the command of a miniſter confirm or over-rule, as they pleaſe. Here is at our outſet ſome ſmall impediment in the way: four hundred thouſand are a great many throats to cut of men able, ready and willing to defend themſelves. Theſe ſame people are likewiſe maſters upon the ſpot and of every thing there.

there. Their towns, their houſes and their other buildings provide them with barracks; their wives and their children ſerve them for ſutlers; their herds and their flocks furniſh their proviſion: They are aſſiſted with all theſe things and the conteſt is for them. Their deſertions muſt be almoſt, as if trees were to deſert their foreſts, they having in like manner been by the hand of nature planted and rooted, where they are. They are free and they fight to be free. Their governments partake of the principles, which magnified Greece and Rome and which made their citizens the firſt ſoldiers ever known in the world. They will both in council and in action be conducted by the beſt and the ableſt men; which their continent contains and will ſupply for the purpoſe. Their country is one general and natural fortreſs, the defence of which its natives well underſtand. Should they with all theſe advantages ſtand in need of help from abroad, they will not fail to find it; as ſurely, as that we have the moſt potent nations upon the globe for conſtant and for inveterate rivals whether with regard to Europe, to Africa, to Aſia or to this very America; I ſay, as ſurely, as that

France ever poſſeſſed Canada or Louiſiana or that Spain ever held or claimed Florida. I am ſorry to aſk, whether there is not on their ſide another aſſiſtance beſides not yet mentioned; which is the juſtice of their cauſe and its influence on the affairs of men. The anceſtors of theſe people led by the general protection of Providence left formerly their native homes to avoid tyranny, cruelty and perſecution: they placed themſelves in theſe wilds and theſe waſtes, which their deſcendants now enjoy and inhabit: their innocence, their deſire of good order and of peace guarded and preſerved them: their temperance, their frugality, their induſtry procured them plenty, property and various ſorts of poſſeſſions. Is not it to be expected, that the ſame benevolent and all-protecting Power will extend his hand and his ſhield over them in this (as they think) juſt or juſteſt of cauſes and in a contention not of ambition, not of oppreſſion, not of rapaciouſneſs on their part, but a due defence of theſe bleſſings and theſe benefits thus deſervedly acquired or conferred upon them; I do not preſume to ſignify by any immediate miracles or any ſpecial interpoſition, but by the means of thoſe moſt excellent, thoſe

moſt

moſt wiſe, thoſe univerſal laws, which perpetually preſerve and maintain the happineſs and the harmony of the whole world?

So much for the party to be conquered, let us next conſider the conquerors. The force now voted and ſpoken of as deſtined for that purpoſe is twenty-five thouſand men upon paper; twenty-five thouſand men for all America including the Weſt-India Iſlands, the two Floridas, Canada and Nova-Scotia and taking credit for the troops now at Boſton and elſewhere of that country to make a part of them after eſcaping Waſhington, the winter and all other chances. Such is the preſent apparent project and eſtimate. This body is however not yet collected: It is to be recruited from all countries and all quarters and much the greater part is then to ſail more than three thouſand miles to the ſcene of action. Does any one imagine, that North-America will ever ſee twenty thouſand of theſe men at a time? Whoever does is right fit to make a miniſter of ſtate in a country, that I know. Theſe twenty thouſand paper men however, what a prodigious power are they againſt four

hundred

hundred thouſand already and actually upon the ſpot! We were laſt year in conteſt with Maſſachuſets-bay only: we ſent againſt them between four and five thouſand men. It need not now be deſcribed how theſe were confined, immured and half ſtarved in the town of Boſton by the ſuperior forces of that one ſingle colony. Twenty thouſand men are nevertheleſs to do wonders againſt thirteen colonies, which is leſs than ſixteen hundred againſt each. What a wiſe and a deep policy and how much to be depended upon for the ſubduing of America? Will any Alexander of ours have much occaſion to weep for another world or even another quarter of one to conquer? Forty thouſand men, half Europeans and half Americans, directed by counſels very unlike ours of theſe days were employed at land in the late conqueſt of Canada. But what was that province? The incomparable act of Parliament lately planned and paſſed for its regulation informs us, that it conſiſted at its reduction of ſixty-five thouſand French inhabitants, not to attribute however too much to that authority, but to take them at one hundred thouſand, (which is as many as they were or more) one hundred

dred thouſand inhabitants, men, women and children made up in no ſmall meaſure of prieſts and weakened with monaſteries, what compariſon or proportion do that number and ſtrength bear to the millions occupying our thirteen colonies and affording above four hundred thouſand men for their defence? How long did nevertheleſs their ſmall militia without the aid of France prevented by a ſtrong fleet from aſſiſting them baffle all our efforts and our endeavours? May the ſhades of Braddock and of Abercrombie and of others reſt in peace for me; who do not deſire to diſturb them again on this ſubject! Theſe twenty thouſand men upon paper are then to be fed from England and from our fleet, to be lodged and to be covered, as they can; to be recruited and to be reinforced at three thouſand miles diſtance; to be in conſtant danger of their undoing by every little defeat or adverſity; to contend with a new and a difficult climate, men fighting for a few pence a day, inliſted in ſervice for life, victims of the laſh and of other military torments and liable on the other ſide to be inſtead of theſe things tempted with lands and with liberty. I may appeal to experience, for how much

our

our former armies there have on theſe accounts been weakened by death, diſeaſe and deſertion. The extenſive kingdom of France may invade the liberty of a ſmall neighbouring Iſland inhabited by a barbarous people having no government, no union, no regular means of reſiſtance, although the oppreſſors are there ſaid to be ſometimes ſick of their work: Spain might with its guns, its horſes and its dogs make havoc among the poor and the helpleſs natives of Mexico and of Peru; but it never was and it may by the bleſſing of God perhaps never be known, that a nation or an army of ſlaves ſubdued a free people fairly and properly prepared for their defence. This is inconſiſtent with the whole hiſtory of the world: the eminent conqueſts and acquiſitions among mankind, the riſe and the ruin of empires have ever proceeded in a contrary courſe. With regard to the Government or the Adminiſtration by whoſe counſels this attempt is to be guided and conducted, I ſhall only obſerve; that it is the ſame, which has in ſo ſhort a ſpace brought us out of our paſt into our preſent ſtate; which has planned and has executed and whoſe prudence and whoſe policy we have

ſo

ſo amply experienced in the American meaſures of theſe times. Having taken notice of the cauſe againſt us, I ought to make with it ſome compariſon of our own; but to ſpill the blood, to ſpoil and to plunder, to lay waſte with fire and with ſword the habitations of a people, from whom we have received almoſt unſpeakable profit and benefit, who gave to us a rich and a great country planted and improved at the coſt and the hazard of themſelves, who never entertained towards us a thought or a meaning of miſchief, who, when our own ſquabbles or impatience or ambition and not their deſires hurried us into war, have ſo often combated under our banners and contributed to our expences; is, I ſay, ſurely a ſervice, at which the heart of every humane man in our army muſt turn and revolt. All mankind will condemn us and our miniſters and will compaſſionate our oppreſſed countrymen: the hand of God and of man is on every part to be expected againſt us. With ſuch diſadvantages as to the means, with ſuch circumſtances as to the cauſe, order muſt be inverted and diſtraction muſt govern the world; rivers muſt run backwards; right muſt become wrong and wrong become right; ſtrength

muſt

muſt be weakneſs and weakneſs be ſtrength; juſtice and oppreſſion, humanity and tyranny had need to change their nature with each other, before that our adminiſtration can in the preſent conteſt conquer or prevail over our colonies. The all-commanding, univerſal influence has for the performance of his purpoſes no occaſion to call fire from Heaven, monſters from the deep or famine from the earth; every creature, every event, every cauſe, every effect and with the reſt the follies and the vices, the actions and the paſſions of men are conſtantly executing his will and his laws nor is there among all the means of wrecking the wrath and the vengeance of Heaven againſt an unfortunate nation deſtined to deſtruction perhaps any one worſe or ſurer than a weak and a corrupt government.

Our navy however rides triumphant; we make acts of parliament at land and we execute them upon the ocean according to our pleaſure. I ſhall not content myſelf with anſwering to this, that our fleet cannot ſail over the continent nor our ſhips bombard woods and ſwamps; as experience may by this time have convinced

vinced us, if reaſon was before inſufficient for that end; but I deſire to touch on this ſubject a new* ſtring, which has hitherto been hardly ſounded. Is it ſuppoſed impoſſible, that we may be moleſted even upon that element, where we believe ourſelves ſo much maſters? The ſtates of Barbary have no commerce or poſſeſſions abroad; they are therefore invulnerable in thoſe reſpects. They keep ſhips of war and no other; by which means they make more priſoners from thoſe on whom they prey, than theſe do in return from them. They are at land on their own ground the ſtrongeſt. Theſe particulars enable that people to impoſe a tribute upon every maritime power of Europe, Great-Britain not excepted; a tribute exacted of all by force and paid by all againſt their inclinations. We all of us term them piratical ſtates, but none treat them as ſuch, which we ſhould undoubtedly do, if we durſt. The ports of the Americans being ſhut up and their trade prohibited; they will with reſpect to us be under the ſame or on their ſide more advantageous circumſtances: why will it then not be in their power to act likewiſe

* This was written ſome months ago.

likewiſe the ſame part towards us? They have creeks and bays which our veſſels will not be able to viſit: we may pronounce them pirates or rebels or what we pleaſe; they will hold themſelves for independent ſtates and will proceed as ſuch: we may threaten them with the laws of our land and they will anſwer with thoſe of repriſal. Our miniſters have in a very ſhort time brought us out of the moſt profound peace into the worſt of civil wars; it is to be hoped, that they will not for their next ſtep make this a war without quarter; which ſeems one of the very few means left them for adding to its miſchief and its malignity. I don't mean, that I depend on the mercy or the compaſſion of ſome men; but the number of captives will probably be in that caſe againſt us and the outcry on their blood too ſtrong at home to be withſtood. The Spaniards and the Portugueſe went that way to work with the Dutch; until that theſe made them to repent of their proceedings: they threw in return and in retaliation over-board into the ſea ſhip's companies of their enemies at once in the Eaſt-Indies. God forbid, that we ſhould ever read or hear ſuch horrid relations between

tween Great-Britain and her colonies; the very ſuppoſition of which is ſufficient to make the blood of any Engliſhman to run backward or his hair to ſtand upright. How long did private perſons unavowed and unaſſiſted by any public ſtate carry on in the Weſt-Indies a buccaneering war againſt the Spaniards and how ſeverely did theſe feel the effects of it? Have not we by forbidding the American ſeamen their peaceable commerce and fiſheries driven them, as it were, purpoſely and by force into privateers? How many thouſands of them are there by ſuch means at this moment ready, earneſt, eager, watching and almoſt under a neceſſity to embrace any employment and opportunity of that ſort, which may ariſe or offer themſelves? I will not now inquire, whether they will want the aſſiſtance of Britiſh ſeamen; whether no part of theſe may join in plundering our merchants under American colours; what ports and in what parts of the world will probably be open to them; whether the Eaſt-India Company may not one day have reaſon to repent and to rue their ſhare of theſe miſchiefs. Does any one doubt but that a powerful reſiſtance to Great-Britain and a more than equal

contention with her will ſoon give theſe ſtates a conſequence and a countenance among nations? Was it long before that our Commonwealth of England, as it was called, acquired a conſideration with the powers and the empires of Europe? Did not ſucceſs and advantage carry in a very ſhort time the Dutch in their conteſt with Spain far beyond what they thought of or hoped for themſelves in the beginning? How might ſome miniſters ſtart and ſtare were they to be told, that North-America may poſſibly become ſuperior by ſea to Great-Britain; before that they ſhall in the name of Great-Britain, have by land or by any other means conquered North-America; ſuperior by ſea to Great-Britain (if our iſland ſhall continue united) or to England, if the two parts of it ſhall by our future misfortunes and through theſe miſerable meaſures be once more ſeparated; I ſay, North-America now not miſtreſs of one ſhip of war in the world and Great-Britain queen at this time of the ocean and the ſtrongeſt maritime nation, that has hitherto appeared among mankind. What a compariſon and how ſtrange a diſproportion! But how many moſt material events have already fallen out very differently

differently from the opinions and the expectations of thoſe, who have conducted our counſels? What prodigies and miracles in miſchief have by them been performed within the ſmall compaſs of two years? Have they not loſt, revolted, thrown away all our ancient North-America in leſs than that time? This prodigious naval power of ours now moſt juſtly making ſuch an impreſſion on our minds, who knows, whether it may long ſubſiſt under our preſent proceedings and how little do ſome men ſeem to conſider from whence it has ariſen and whereon it reſts? I will not now enter into that field; it is a very wide one: it may comprehend not only certain late acts of parliament relating to the Newfoundland, the Labrador and to other fiſheries, but likewiſe many more diſtant circumſtances and perhaps the whole circle of the miniſterial ſyſtem. Should any one be on this head inclined to impeach the writer of preſumption or of extravagance; I ſhall only anſwer. that there does not appear more cauſe, more reaſon to expect ſucceſs from the preſent wild attempts and projects of ſuch a conqueſt; than theſe give ground and foundation to apprehend, that the

other probability or poſſibility may by their means be brought about and take place not to-day or to-morrow, but within ſome moderate diſtance of time nor can I but obſerve that the plain and the proper method to prevent or to avoid both theſe extremities muſt be by an immediate accommodation and peace.

We will however ranſack the earth on this occaſion rather than to be fruſtrated of our ends and if we cannot for our purpoſe furniſh ſufficient forces from home we will hire them from abroad or we will confide to foreigners our domeſtic defence, while we ſacrifice our own people beyond the Atlantic. Does then any one imagine, that our colonies will not find during this conteſt as many and as conſiderable reſources in their favour, as our miniſters are maſters of to turn and to employ againſt them? Is the progreſs of theſe unhappy broils probable to be more on our ſide, than the beginning of them has been; at which moment our attempt might have been expected to make ſome impreſſion, if it ever ſhould? A few thouſands of men were ſent and went at firſt on this errand, as if there had been little more to

do

do than to diſperſe a tumult in the ſtreets. They were cooped up and beſieged in Boſton one whole year for their pains. Theſe not humbling America to our minds, we multiplied them to their preſent complement, which it was not doubted would do the buſineſs. We have not however made much more way by that means: the provincials poured down and encamped thereupon their numbers in proportion. Our troops marched one day about a dozen miles into the country and were well pleaſed to come home with better ſpeed, than they went out. We have in two campaigns ſo far proceeded towards the conqueſt of America. The Provincials now beſiege our people with about eighteen thouſand men in their lines; they keep nearly as many more cantoned in the ſame colony and within call; they are ſaid to have in all not leſs than one hundred and fifty thouſand armed and muſtered: they can and they will have more, if they want: theſe however ſeem fully ſufficient to face, to confine, to controul any power likely to be formed and to be brought againſt them on our part; they will nevertheleſs not burthen unneceſſarily their country, but will be called forth into the field and into action,

accordingly as the occaſion and the ſtrength of their enemies ſhall require. Is not it evident to every one that the further we have hitherto proceeded in this affair, our object is but the more removed and the more diſtant from us; that our provinces (I don't know, whether it is permitted me to term them the thirteen united provinces, but it may not be long, before that bigger and better than the writer will ſtile them by that title; unleſs that we ſhall without delay take proper methods and very different from thoſe hitherto purſued to prevent it) but, I ſay, is it not moſt evident, that they have improved and have fortified themſelves in their defence much faſter and more effectually, than we have gained and have advanced upon them in our attack? Even Georgia ſpurns at us and has joined our enemies, while we are become proud of the friendſhip and the attachment of Nova-Scotia; whom we do ourſelves in a manner nouriſh and maintain. America is now in the middle of a long and a ſtrong winter. This is a time and a ſeaſon of advantage given to the natives by Providence: what events it may produce, no one yet knows; but paſt experience will explain to us, how

how it is probable, that they may employ the opportunity and whether it is to be expected, that they will be well prepared and ſtrengthened by the Spring. Are we ſure, that even their ports and their coaſts upon the ſea will be always ſo open and ſo expoſed to us, as they have hitherto been? Theſe are in themſelves certainly very ſerious conſiderations; is it however lawful for the adminiſtration to introduce at will foreign forces into Gibraltar and Port-Mahon? Can the King of Great-Britain give and grant theſe important poſſeſſions to Hanover and make them part and parcel of that electorate? They were purchaſed at a prodigious expence of the blood and the treaſure of this country and were the only prizes of a very victorious war pretended at leaſt to have been carried on in ſupport of the proteſtant ſucceſſion and are they after all not the public property of the nation, but the private patrimony of the prince? In what light muſt the people and the ſubject be looked upon, if that could be the caſe? A queſtion of the like nature is ſaid to have on the occaſion of a certain letter in the time of King George the Firſt been determined on the national

ſide. If therefore ſuch a prepoſterous power is clearly and undoubtedly beyond the juriſdiction of the crown; does not it of neceſſity follow, that neither can his Majeſty's miniſters take theſe fortreſſes out of the hands of our nation and deliver them into thoſe of the other? I ſpeak this with reſpect to that electorate remaining under the dominion of our King; but ſuppoſe, that the Emperor of Germany or the King of Pruſſia ſhould in a fit of ill-humour or of ambition ſeize upon Hanover; who would then have Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, if they were garriſoned from thence? Would not he, who commanded the country, who was maſter of the wives and the families, of the eſtates and the concerns, of thoſe, who had the cuſtody of them? It may be obſerved, that there will notwithſtanding this introduction of ſtrangers remain for the preſent at leaſt rather more Britons than Germans. But whoever is without the conſent and the concurrence of our legiſlature intitled to ſend thither one company of ſuch troops, muſt likewiſe be ſo to do the ſame by more; no bounds or particular number of men or of regiments can in that reſpect be pointed out and preſcribed.

ſcribed. A greater proportion may more abſolutely deſtroy, but a leſſer will weaken our ſecurity. It is an utter abſurdity and almoſt bordering upon ridicule to ſay; that the King is obliged to preſerve to Great-Britain the right, but that his miniſters may at their pleaſure part with to another people the poſſeſſion of thoſe places. If we cannot be lawfully deprived of the poſts themſelves, ſo neither can we of the means neceſſary to hold and to retain them: theſe two circumſtances are in the preſent caſe and of their own nature inſeparably connected and united. There is alſo a report of twenty thouſand Ruſſians deſigned for America itſelf: that will be a prodigy indeed! Are then ſome of theſe to be raiſed in the neighbourhood of Kamchatſka within three days ſail of the eaſtern coaſt of America, to march over Ruſſia and along-ſide of Aſia, to ſail through Europe, to paſs by Africa and at length to land again on the oppoſite and the moſt diſtant part of America and to wage war there, as it were, with their antipodes; with a people againſt whom they have ſo little cauſe or pretence of quarrel; that perhaps hardly ever did a native of theſe newly-planted territories

ſet

ſet his foot in the vaſt empire of Muſcovy or a Ruſſian viſit theſe weſtern regions of the world, until that now being urged and inſtigated by a Britiſh adminiſtration they ſhall have gone thither on this moſt unjuſt and moſt inhuman errand. How are they to be there recruited, aſſiſted and ſupported with a good part of the globe between them and their own nation? Muſt they not melt away like ſnow in the ſun, whoſe place is no more ſeen or ſupplied? Is this then the manner, in which our miniſters make their conqueſts? Muſt heaven and earth be thus moved againſt a people, who were within theſe three years in perfect ſubmiſſion and obedience to us? In ſubmiſſion and in obedience do I ſay? who were united to us by the moſt cordial friendſhip, affection and attachment. How muſt the creſt ſink and the pride and the honour be humbled of Great-Britain in that moment, when we ſhall be ſeen under the neceſſity to employ Ruſſian troops and Ruſſian armies for the ſubduing to us our own provinces; we who have for many years paſt been the firſt and the foremoſt to meddle in every idle ſquabble, which could ariſe in any part of Europe and be-

tween

tween whatſoever nations? Muſt not we from that time become obſequious ſlaves of the court and the Empreſs of Peterſburgh? Will our peace ſubſiſt, but at their pleaſure? Muſt not our navies and our armies be at their devotion, if any ſuch ſhall remain to us? If we have an intereſt there, why is not it employed to promote our trade and our commerce or will it not be very ſufficiently wanted for that end? What ſtar reigns, that we muſt turn to our ruin and our deſtruction, even our few benefits and advantages? Will Ruſſia itſelf make ſuch a return to our nation, as to ſacrifice our country to the paſſions of our court? Fortune and France are however ſaid to have ſaved us from this infatuation, when our own prudence and diſcretion would not have done it; France that ſignifies herſelf to be ſo friendly and ſo peaceable, that would not for the world have a finger in theſe miſchiefs, that ſome men ſeem to think would hardly accept again of Canada, if it was offered to her. Let that report however be better or worſe founded, as it may; let any ſuch circumſtances happen ſooner or later, (for happen undoubtedly they will and probably at ſome conjuncture choſen

choſen by our enemies, if that theſe things proceed) Should we however ſend Engliſh, Scotch, Iriſh, Dutch, Canadians, Indians, Hanoverians, Heſſians, Ruſſians, and as many more nations to waſte from one end to the other with fire and with ſword and with the worſt horrors and havoc of war that whole continent ſo lately our own, of what benefit would all this be to Great-Britain? We had lately a monopoly of the commerce of the Americans; we have already obliged them to lay it open to all nations; we are now fighting to force an excluſion againſt ourſelves; we are endeavouring to drive them into ſome new patronage and protection; this is the only poſſible end of our pains, ſhould we by all theſe ſtrange means make upon them much more impreſſion, than there is the leaſt appearance or probability of our being able to do. Is the poor wretch chained and confined to his cell upon clean ſtraw in Bedlam poſſeſſed with more madneſs, than are theſe our own moſt extravagant ſchemes and projects, meaſures and miſchiefs? This is however not all, that I have to ſay on the ſubject. There is in the way another obſtacle, another impediment, more fatal, more difficult,

ficult, more unſurmountable; than even any thing before mentioned, if that is eaſily poſſible. All theſe expenſive plans, theſe violent and forced efforts will only ſerve to haſten the independence of the provinces and our own undoing. It is not by the downright dint of arms and the deciſion of many bloody battles, but by a failure of our revenue; that the preſent conteſt will probably come to its concluſion. Twenty thouſand men may make more waſte and ſpoil in our provinces, than ten and thirty, than twenty; but no numbers will be equal to the conqueſt of that great, united continent; which we are capable to provide and to pay. Our miniſters will want Hanoverian, Heſſian and Ruſſian finances, as well as the forces of thoſe nations; for they ſeem already to be very nearly arrived to the extremity of thoſe of Great-Britain. Let us for an inſtant conſider the ſtate of our revenue, if that the height, the horror and the confuſion of theſe affairs will allow us leiſure and patience. The public accounts run from one Lady-day to another. There were at Lady-day laſt due from the Sinking Fund about nine hundred thouſand pounds, with which were diſcharged

eight

eight hundred and eighty thouſand in three per cent annuities. This ſum ſhould rather have been uſed to reduce the debt of the navy, which was increaſed ſix hundred and fifty thouſand pounds or upwards within theſe three years and which amounted at Chriſtmas laſt to above eighteen hundred thouſand; but we were proud of appearing to pay off our principal. Let us however not criticiſe too ſtrictly this circumſtance. We are in no great danger of running again into the ſame error. This looks like the laſt inſtance of the kind. We have now in twelve years of peace paid off according to the utmoſt pretenſions on that head and before theſe late expences, as much as we incurred in nine months of the laſt war. And here we may in all appearance make up and cloſe that whole account. No man now born may probably ever ſee ſuch another ſum diſcharged of the Britiſh national debt: this ſeems to have been the ſeal on the ſubject. Thus however was concluded the account of the Sinking Fund ending at Lady-day 1775. We then took for the ſervice of the current year upon the credit of that fund, upon its future growing produce ſuppoſed to ariſe between

between Lady-day laſt and Lady-day 1776 two millions wanting one hundred thouſand pounds. That with the taxes of the land and the malt were our ways and means for this year. But what were theſe things in the hands of miniſters bent on campaigns and conqueſts? They ſpent laſt ſummer ſuch prodigious ſums for the public good; as made it in order to procure more money for the ſame purpoſe neceſſary to aſſemble the parliament earlier this winter, than was perhaps ever before known in our annals. That body accordingly met and paſſed without delay the land tax at four ſhillings in the pound. It is not the cuſtom of adminiſtration to ſtay for the ſlow and the quarterly produce of this tax; but the Bank immediately advances at a certain intereſt money to the whole amount and takes it again, as it comes in by degrees. The wants, the debts and the demands were ready before. Thus is now in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, that high and heavy tax at its full extent of four ſhillings mortgaged, ſpent and gone, as far as Lady-day ſeventeen hundred and ſeventy-ſeven incluſive. Never was ſuch an anticipation hitherto known

or

or attempted; but he is a poor miniſter, who does not improve on thoſe that went before him. We have now probably approaching another moſt expenſive year, likely far to out-go even the laſt in extravagance. There remains to anſwer all only the malt tax affording three quarters of a million and this poor hackneyed horſe the Sinking Fund encumbered with nineteen hundred thouſand pounds before ſpoken of and ſuffering by the defalcation to be expected from the actual condition of our affairs and of which no man yet knows the extent. Thus ſtands in groſs the ſtate of the revenue at this day, all explanatory accounts and papers being denied. Some ſervices may and no doubt will be run behind; means may poſſibly be found for anticipating yet further the Sinking Fund; theſe things however will have an end: they cannot laſt long. Our next ſtep muſt be to borrow; but how to make that practicable may puzzle all the wiſdom even of our preſent miniſters. How great a confuſion of our infinite funds now ſubſiſting may be then expected? What will be our figure, when we appear again before the face of all Europe aſking in the old ſtrain for more millions upon

upon millions at intereſt? Our moſt enormous incumbrance already incurred without the leaſt appearance of being ever paid off, our actual and moſt critical ſituation brought on wantonly and perſiſted in obſtinately, the evident danger of the very fountain of our revenue drying up and failing will then all operate and have their full force and effect. The going to market again for money is the particular circumſtance, which our adminiſtration had from the beginning eſpecial cauſe to fear and to avoid. What ſhall I ſay, that our fate forces us or that we run with our eyes open upon the rock, where we cannot but be wrecked? There is no other ſtage beyond this of borrowing, but a ſtoppage in paying the intereſt of our public debt or in plain Engliſh a national bankruptcy. The whole frame of our government will in that day ſhake to its very foundation. I do not pretend now to go to the bottom of this ſubject: more has in another place been ſaid upon it. (See Conſiderations, &c. page 96.) I proteſt however, that I do not write down theſe words upon my paper without being not only ſhocked for the ſake of the public, but likewiſe utterly amazed at the madneſs of our mini-

ſters; fully ſatisfied and confident in my own mind, as I am; that they are according to their preſent courſe going headlong upon that point and in all appearance without the leaſt queſtion, ſcruple, conſideration or heſitation in themſelves; when they had at the beginning no temptation or provocation towards it; when they might perfectly well have ſtopped in their progreſs and even might at this moment poſſibly do ſo yet, if they truly and ſincerely deſired and endeavoured it: I ſay perhaps might yet do it; although the time and the opportunity permitted to us by Providence for that purpoſe appear to be now drawing to a very ſhort period. However unconcerned ſome men may be about their country, have they no thought for themſelves? Should our public funds burſt like an immenſe bomb, will not the ſplinters ſtrike thoſe, who ſtand the neareſt? What muſt in ſuch a conjuncture be the caſe and the ſtate of a firſt miniſter? It may perhaps be replied; I will then reſign my place and will ſay, that the repeal of the ſtamp-act made the miſchief or that it proceeded from ſome long-concerted ſcheme of the colonies; men may perhaps be even then found

found to confirm and on occaſion to vote, as much; ſo ſhall all be well, my private breaſt be appeaſed and my King and my country be contented. But is ſuch language, the idle prattle of a parcel of children playing about kingdoms and empires or the ſerious diſcourſe of perſons, who have undertaken to conduct the ſtate and on whoſe every motion, action, meaſure depends the happineſs or the miſery of many millions of mankind? Can this great empire tumble without cruſhing in its ruin thoſe whoſe poſt, whoſe province and whoſe duty it is to prop and to ſupport it; but who do on the contrary by their miſconduct and their miſmanagement bring it down? Ruin will however not reſt there. It has pleaſed the Almighty Governor of the world in his tranſcendent wiſdom to connect the concerns of the wiſe and the weak, of the provident and the deſperate. It behoves for his own ſake and his own ſafety every man to concur according to his power in the preſervation of his country: he will otherwiſe infallibly find himſelf involved in its fate. This cannot in our caſe be compaſſed but by the moſt prudent and the moſt diſcreet means:

we had not been, where we now are, if that wildneſs and madneſs would have wrought it. This Ruſſian meaſure is on the contrary the meer, the hopeleſs impulſe of reſentment and of rage, of diſappointment and of deſpair: it can poſſibly contribute to no end, but that of our own undoing.

There is however one aſſiſtance, of which it would be unreaſonable to refuſe the full force to thoſe, who have provided and procured it. It is to be hoped, that the addreſſes will be preſerved containing the ſincere and the diſintereſted proffers of many lives and fortunes on this occaſion. Men now ſo forward will no doubt in caſe of exigency be perfectly ready to perform their words: they will at leaſt offer themſelves for the firſt ſacrifice; if any public misfortunes ſhall follow in conſequence of their advice and their deſires. Have they then well conſidered; whether it is wiſe to caſt combuſtibles on a fire, which already threatens to conſume the whole Britiſh empire? Counſels and profeſſions reſpecting a point of this extreme moment can ſurely never be meant to gain only a little temporary court favour and then to

be

be without further reflection forgotten or given to the wind? But however that may be; let their authors well beware, that theſe things do not bring in time to come moſt ſerious miſchiefs on them and on theirs; that they never haunt them in their ſleep and in their beds, unleſs their hearts ſhall be ſteeled and be hardened againſt every poſſible calamity of their country: Are they ſure, that it will be long before they ſhall have reaſon to repent with tears of blood the meaſures, which they are now perhaps, but idly and wantonly recommending?

We have likewiſe been told; that military diſcipline is irreſiſtible and that the Americans neither have nor can have on account of their equality among themſelves any ſuch thing. The matter of fact furniſhes us here with the moſt proper reply. This point however having on the preſent occaſion been much vaunted and ſpoken of and the writer being one, who profeſſes himſelf as yet to learn any ſingle circumſtance wherein ſervitude is ſuperior to freedom, he deſires to offer ſome obſervations on the ſubject. I cannot perſwade myſelf to believe, that true,

real, proper military diſcipline conſiſts in blows and in ſtripes, in tyrannical laws and cruel executions, in the pride of the officer and the abjectneſs of the ſoldier or that it is not equally compatible with liberty, as with ſlavery or much more ſo. The art of war has in fact ever flouriſhed moſt in free ſtates. When the clear and the authentic accounts of hiſtorians begin on that ſubject, Greece excelled in it; whoſe liberty will not be diſputed: that people being reduced [illegible] ſubdued by one another, it paſſed to Macedonia, a bordering or in a larger ſenſe another Grecian nation, governed by Kings, but not deſpotically: their two celebrated leaders Philip and Alexander were captains general of Greece: the army was compoſed of a mixture of Macedonian and of Grecian troops, with which the latter performed his great exploits and ſubjected Ægypt, Aſia and India. This ſtate however ſoon ſunk into abſolute ſervitude. The military art then ſet up its ſtandard in Rome, equally famous for its freedom and for its moſt extenſive empire acquired by conqueſt. The Roman legions were enrolled in the city; their generals and their chief officers were choſen by the people: their armies were often

often formed and led in a ſhort time againſt the enemy. The ſtory of Scipio is well known, who prepared and who diſciplined his troops in Sicily one ſummer, who carried them over into Africa and gained there great victories the ſame year and who overcame Hannibal and conquered Carthage the next. The Roman commanders had after the diſbanding of their armies the firſt and the nobleſt boons ever conferred among men to aſk of their ſoldiers in the capacity of citizens. When this miſtreſs and pride of the world felt the fate of all human inſtitutions and was enſlaved in her turn, her martial fame followed her freedom: conqueſt and ſucceſs in war were transferred to divers barbarous people far inferior to the Romans in other reſpects, but ſuperior by their liberty. In theſe latter times and ſince the ſettlement of Europe by thoſe northern nations the inhabitants of no particular ſpot appear to have had on this head any very remarkable and commanding preeminence above the reſt of mankind. The Engliſh have however been much diſtinguiſhed for their civil conſtitution, in which a part is preſerved to the public and the community; that theſe are in almoſt

every other country deprived of. The influence of this freedom has accordingly been found and felt in our military affairs. We have had many bloody conteſts and battles with a neighbouring nation more practiſed and more experienced in arms than ourſelves; but whoſe pulſe is ſuppoſed not to have beat ſo high for liberty nor whoſe form of government afforded them the ſame ſhare of it. The effects correſponded to their cauſe. No people have within a certain number of centuries perhaps gained in the field greater or more ſignal victories than have our own on thoſe occaſions; witneſs with many others Creſſy, Poitiers, Agincourt; victories in which Engliſhmen often glory and that undoubtedly proceeded from different grounds, than from numerous and mercenary armies then maintained and trained among us in time of peace. But ſhould ever Britons in the chance and the change of things firſt loſe their own liberty at home and then fight to deprive others of theirs abroad; it may be depended upon, that we ſhall ourſelves add one more baſe inſtance to the very many already experienced, of how much men and nations are by ſlavery demeaned and debaſed

baſed in military, as well as in every other virtue. May however heaven defend us from affording in our days an example to the world of ſo unhappy and ſo unfit a reverſe! Theſe ſtates of America vie with the freeſt in freedom: what reaſon is there then, that they may not likewiſe rival the moſt warlike in the art of war; if they ſhall turn their views and their endeavours that way? They are ſaid to have already introduced means of offence in fighting and in battle hitherto unknown or unpractiſed among Europeans and ſuch as we are ourſelves at this time preparing to imitate. I don't hereby mean to ſignify, that ſuch views and ſuch endeavours are deſirable or recommendable. It may be neceſſary for them to maintain and to continue in time to come the general muſter of their country, as their beſt defence againſt both foreign foes and any domeſtic deſigns of ambitious men among themſelves; but it is for their own happineſs and for that of the human ſpecies to be hoped; that they will ſeek their greatneſs and their riches not by conqueſt and by miſchief, but by peace and by commerce; whenever they ſhall become a perfectly free, ſelf-governed, independent people;

people: which ſtate ſeems to be ſooner or later preparing for them; later if we could continue contented with the prodigious benefits formerly and hitherto received from them; but ſooner and perhaps immediately, if nothing ſhall remove or reſtrain the preſent raging madneſs of our miniſters.

But it has been the faſhion to ſignify, that the Americans are cowards and poltroons and that therefore it matters not what numbers or what diſcipline they may have: I dare ſay, that their own inſtant anſwer to this will be; let then better and braver men than ourſelves win our country and wear it, if that is the caſe: they will no doubt readily fling down the gauntlet on this ſubject. They have however given to it another yet fuller and more effectual reply, which is by their behaviour itſelf. This reflection will hardly be again repeated; but is not it very extraordinary; that ſuch a general, an injnrious and in itſelf an incredible and an improbable charge ſhould have been ſuggeſted reſpecting theſe numerous communities of men without one ſingle fact being in confirmation of it produced

or

or faſtened upon them among all the various events and occurrences of the late war, throughout which our and their troops almoſt conſtantly acted together both on the continent and in the iſlands of the Weſt-Indies; I ſay, without its being ſupported or confirmed by any one fact of that kind hitherto known or heard of? As to the ſucceſsful ſiege of Louiſbourg and their making themſelves maſters of Cape-Breton in the war before, an expedition undertaken, performed and until now at leaſt ever remembered highly to their honour and which afforded us the only acquiſition, that we had to part with at the enſuing peace; they could be in no very great danger of ſinking or of ſuffering under that infamy of that affair; but they muſt on the contrary have ſurely been much flattered, when they found their enemies forced to produce their victories and their conqueſts to prove their poltroonery and their cowardice. I don't hereby mean to expreſs, that all the things were really ſaid in public, which may on this ſubject have ſometimes been reported; but the particular reaſon of my now introducing this circumſtance on the ſcene is, that it ſeems impoſſible to account for

all

all the extreme ſtrangeneſs of our conduct except on the ground, that ſome men did ſeriouſly ſuppoſe, believe and proceed upon a principle, that the American militia would never have the valour to face our forces in the field, however they might perhaps vapour and ſpeak big at a diſtance; as if our colours had carried with them an irreſiſtible virtue and magic, like what has ſometimes been attributed to the ſtandard of Mahomet or to banners bleſſed by the Pope. How muſt any man capable of the leaſt pity for the public be moved; if the fate and the welfare of this great, but ill-governed country have actually been ſtaked on any ſuch childiſh and extravagant conception? It is the part of perſons ruling or leading others firſt to found their own proceedings in prudence and afterwards rather to reſpect, than to deſpiſe their enemies. If our miniſters are however ſo much bent on making compariſons between Britain and America; why don't they contraſt the counſels of our cabinet and the ſucceſs of them with thoſe of the continental congreſs; which ſeems to be more peculiarly their province and where they will certainly find very ſufficient matter to employ and

to

to exerciſe their reflections? The courage of others we cannot command; our own meaſures we may; let us then leave the provincial valour to itſelf and let us look to our own ſteps: the preſent conjuncture does but too much want all the wiſdom of the wiſeſt.

I come now to a charge againſt the Americans of a very different and a much more ſerious ſort, of no leſs than rebellion made upon them not only in our ordinary prints and our daily diſcourſe, but in the proclamations of the King and in other the higheſt authorities of our country. This is indeed a matter of great magnitude and importance: our governors have involved in it the fate of Great-Britain itſelf. Theſe conſtantly deduce as a conſequence from ſuch a ſuppoſed ſtate of things; that our own nation is for that reaſon under a neceſſity of running upon its ruin; that the dignity of government demands of us to purſue and to adopt meaſures leading directly to our deſtruction: that there can be no talk, no treaty with rebels; but it muſt be bas les armes, ſubmiſſion to mercy and to taxation or otherwiſe the fortune and the event of a civil war:

war: there appears ſometimes ſuch an eagerneſs in aſſerting theſe premiſes; as if it was only done on purpoſe to come to the concluſion: the parent-country of Old-England is abſolutely doomed to be undone, there ſeems to be in the whole wheel of fate no ſingle chance left in her favour; however it may happen with the provinces. This is much as prudent in our politicians with reſpect to the public; as it would be juſt in our judges with regard to a private perſon; if they ſhould condemn any one to be executed at Tyburn, becauſe he had the evil fortune to be robbed upon the high-road. This is poſſibly not all; who knows, whether no men about the perſon of our ever gracious Prince may by repreſentations and by reaſoning of the ſame ſort endeavour to raiſe in the royal breaſt diſpleaſure or indignation againſt a large part of lately at leaſt ſome of the moſt loyal among his ſubjects to the extreme prejudice not only of his people; but perhaps of the concerns and the intereſts of his crown? One would imagine; that ſuch alarming, ſuch enormous conſequences, ſhould bring into ſuſpicion the truth and the ſoundneſs of the principle itſelf, from which they do

or are pretended to proceed; that they ſhould incline us well and carefully to queſtion; whether theſe preſent commotions of our provinces are at the bottom real rebellion or whether they may not poſſibly ariſe from ſome other reaſon or ſtand on ſome other ground. It is in ſo great a ſtake of our country undoubtedly not only moſt lawful, but moſt fitting to debate and to diſcuſs a poſition, big with ſo much miſchief to the public: whoever ſhall diſprove it, will open a way to our peace and our preſervation; will wreſt the means of malice out of the hands of ill-deſigning men and will remove the foundation of the folly and the infatuation of weak ones. There can be left no true liberty of ſpeaking or of writing, all application by the preſs to the public for the common benefit muſt be foreclоſed and forbidden; if that this ſubject ſhall not find a perfect ſanction and protection. The taſk demands and deſerves a far better labourer, than the preſent writer: it has found and I truſt, that it will again find many ſuch: I ſhall however for one proceed without further ſcruple to the conſideration of that queſtion, hoping at leaſt to point out the road for ſome abler

perſon

perſon to purſue and being fully confident; that I am therein performing my poor, but my beſt and my moſt faithful ſervices to my King and my country.

I ſay then in the firſt place; that it is no wonder, if one looking without the ſpectacles of learning cannot in the 25th of Edw. 3d. diſcern the actions of our countrymen beyond the Atlantic. The material words therein are "If a man do levy war againſt our Lord the King in his realm or be adherent to the King's enemies in his realm giving to them aid and comfort in the realm or elſewhere" whereby it appears; that the treaſonable war muſt abſolutely be levied in the realm. It is in a ſubject being at home or abroad treaſon to aid, comfort or adhere to the King's enemies in ſuch a war; the enemies and the war itſelf muſt nevertheleſs be in the realm. Now the realm of America, the realm of England and America, the realms of England and America are nonſenſe, they are all jargon, no one of them is an expreſſion of the Engliſh language; from whence it moſt certainly and moſt evidently follows; that neither America nor any war levied there is or

can

can be included in thoſe words. The King of England had at that time great poſſeſſions and claims abroad and this act was indiſputably couched in ſuch terms on purpoſe to confine it from affecting them. A law of Poynings paſſed by the parliament of Ireland extended to that country all the Engliſh ſtatutes ſubſiſting in the tenth year of H. 7: our laws of treaſon were the year after the union by 7 Anne c. 21. introduced into Scotland: but I want to know, how the words before-mentioned deſcribe or comprehend America. This moſt penal of all laws and higheſt of all crimes cannot be ſtretched one jot beyond the ſtricteſt ſenſe with reſpect either to purpoſe or to expreſſion: where the one or the other of theſe fails, there ends likewiſe the extent of the ſtatute. It is not very ſurpriſing, if America has hitherto been miſſed or overlooked on this ſubject; for rebellion never ſounded from thoſe ſhores, until that ſome men at home gave occaſion to tumults there and then chriſtened them with a hard name. The queſtion is not, what law our anceſtors would under Ed. 3 have made; if things had been then, as they are now; but whether they actually employed on that occaſion terms expreſſive

of America or whether we have ſince ſupplied the defect; if that they did not. Men are not to be hanged, drawn and quartered without or againſt law, becauſe that their anceſtors long lived totally free from all ſuſpicion of deſerving it. What reflections ought this fact to raiſe in us, that American treaſon is neither to be heard of in our hiſtory nor traced in our ſtatutes? Is it then ſuddenly fallen from the clouds or has it flamed from the earth among them or is all this civil war only reſiſtance ariſing from oppreſſion, oppreſſion which has before formed ſo many combinations and has already effected ſuch a number of revolutions in the world? This is however not my immediate ſubject; but it may be ſaid, that we will try theſe people by the 35th of H. 8, as if their deeds were done in England: to which I ſhall now only anſwer, that the fact or the crime muſt nevertheleſs keep its American complexion; that a riot there cannot by that means be turned into a rebellion in England. We may likewiſe be told, that this term of rebellion is in ſome late acts of parliament roundly attributed to the actions of our coloniſts. My reply to this is; that ſuch expreſſions are at moſt to be eſteemed only,

only, as the private and the perſonal ſentiments of thoſe ſuffering them to paſs; but that the moſt poſitive, legiſlative, enacting words are neceſſary to conſtitute a new treaſon and to move the land marks fixed by ſo material and ſo fundamental a ſtatute, as this in queſtion. I wonder, how an indictment for rebellion without the word treaſon would be treated in Weſtminſter-hall. But cries ſome bolder man, we will cut the Gordian knot, if we cannot untie it; we will paſs a ſpecial act for that purpoſe. I will to this ſay only: that I ſhall then delay the binding up my curious collection of our late American acts; until that I can include with them an ex poſt facto ſtatute for treaſon. I ſpeak on this ſubject however no opinion of my own: I throw out theſe things for inquiry and for information. The writer is ſenſible, that he is according to the expreſſion of a countryman of his own on a like occaſion putting his ſickle into the harveſt of a particular profeſſion. It is in theſe moſt unpromiſing times moreover a peculiar happineſs, that our country has ſome perſons towards whom to caſt their eyes; who are eminent not only for their conſummate knowledge of our laws and our

conſtitution; but likewiſe for what can alone beſtow a true luſtre upon the moſt ſplendid talents, their integrity; men who have evidently ſacrificed to their opinion of the public good the firſt poſts and profits and honours of ambition. I quit therefore this ground and freely deſcend further into the field.

I ſay then, that rebellion is indeed a big word, but that it is at the ſame time a moſt ſuſpicious one: it is the common term, which tyrants ever affect to attribute to ſuch, as defend and as maintain againſt them either their own rights or thoſe of the reſt of mankind. When our anceſtors depoſed with ſo much reaſon the ſecond Edward and the ſecond Richard would not their proceedings have borne the name of treaſon or of rebellion, if theſe Kings had been the ſtrongeſt? How fond are Engliſhmen of the very ſound of Magna-Charta, but how often has force been employed to enact, to renew and to confirm it? Might not ſuch ſteps have paſſed for rebellion; if the fortune of the field had on thoſe occaſions been againſt our forefathers? Who knows, but that Runnymede might in ſuch a caſe have now been

been celebrated, as a ſcene of diſappointed rebellion? The defence of the conſtitution by our anceſtors againſt Charles the Firſt has it in our hiſtories, in our ſtatutes, in our prayers, never been called a rebellion? The Revolution would not it have been branded for a rebellion, the Revolution itſelf, whereon are founded the right and the throne of our moſt gracious King now reigning over us and the claims and the expectations of his family after him, if it had unfortunately failed and miſcarried of ſucceſs? Does any one queſtion, whether Attornies and Sollicitors would then have been found to file informations or judges to give ſentence in that ſtile? Would honeſt Jefferies have on ſo inviting an occaſion been wanting to his office? I hope however and I truſt, that I may for the honour of our anceſtors add, that Parliaments could not in thoſe days have been bought, packed or procured, who would likewiſe have voted, addreſſed and enacted in the ſame language? Theſe are nevertheleſs the parts and the periods of our hiſtory, in which Engliſhmen eſpecially pride themſelves and to which we believe, that we owe the preſervation of our moſt precious rights and the poſſeſſion of every thing, that

we can properly call our own. I will go no further into this trite topic; it is almoſt a common place upon the liberties of the people; but reſiſtance therefore or levying and waging war againſt the King is not always treaſon or rebellion; notwithſtanding many plain, poſitive, general acts of parliament containing or expreſſing no particular exceptions in the caſe.

Our next queſtion ſeems to be; what is then the circumſtance, which diſtinguiſhes acts of reſiſtance from one another; that ſanctifies or juſtifies ſome while others of the ſame ſort are ſo immoral and ſo criminal? I anſwer the cauſe: the cauſe is the original ſource, which communicates on ſuch occaſions the quality of good or of evil, of right or of wrong to the conduct flowing and proceeding from it. What name is among Engliſhmen held in higher honour, than that of Mr. John Hampden? He was nevertheleſs one of the firſt, who levied war, who took the field, who marched, who fought againſt the banners, the troops and the perſon of his Prince: He likewiſe led and induced many others to do

the

the ſame. He merits to be reckoned among the rankeſt of rebels; unleſs that his cauſe ſufficiently ſupported him in all theſe things; I ſay, if either that the King was intitled to have taxed him without his conſent perſonal or repreſentative or if that the right of preſerving from ſuch injuſtice and oppreſſion himſelf and thoſe after him did not duly and fully warrant his reſiſtance. A claim of that kind is well known to have been the great queſtion of their quarrel and that it was in Weſtminſter-Hall decided on the ſide of the King againſt Mr. Hampden by a moſt ſolemn ſentence of all the twelve judges there, being according to the written law of the land the perſons proper and competent for that purpoſe. Truth and time have notwithſtanding determined otherwiſe. The name and the remembrance of that excellent Engliſhman are by his country, as much cheriſhed and reſpected, as thoſe of ſome others may probably be condemned and reprobated; if that they ſhall not be well aware, how they walk in the ways or they revive the fatal principles of thoſe, who counſelled that unhappy Prince, with whom Mr. Hampden was under a neceſſity to contend. I

will not here multiply examples; our hiſtory is almoſt compoſed of them. We have however proceeded one ſtep further: the cauſe is then the criterion of right and of wrong in thoſe extraordinary caſes; where a great part of the people believe themſelves obliged to appeal from their own government to the ſupreme arbiter of the univerſe.

What is on this occaſion then the cauſe of the Americans? Every one will to that anſwer; the great queſtion of taxation, the claim of that country not to be taxed in England. On that point totally reſts all this diſpute; if that is falſe, the Americans are errant traitors and rebels; but if it be on the other hand fixed above in truth and in juſtice, it will well bear the whole weight depending upon it. A right includes the means neceſſary to maintain it. A right ſanctifies the actions done in a juſt conſequence of it. A right in any caſe and a duty of paſſive obedience and of non-reſiſtance in the ſame are an abſolute abſurdity and contradiction. The actions of the Americans done in a due defence of a real right, will be perfectly and abſolutely innocent; as much as to eat or

to

to drink or to ſleep. Why may they in their opinions not partake of the nature of thoſe which have preſerved and have, as it were, conſecrated the memory of the firſt men of Greece and of Rome, of Tell of Switzerland, of the Naſſaus of Holland, of Ruſſel, of Sydney, of Pym, of Hampden before-mentioned and of other eminent patriots of our own nation? Moſt ſacred ſhades and names ever to be reverenced, ſure at leaſt I am; that I do not mean to introduce you on the ſcene wantonly or unworthily! Some acts of parliament lately paſſed concerning that weſtern continent will no doubt be the admiration of poſterity; but I do not know, that we have as yet directly and immediately forbid to its natives the love of their country and ſhould we in ourſelves ſhew them a domeſtic pattern of the neglect of that duty; our ſucceſs on the preſent occaſion or our proſpect in time to come is perhaps not ſuch, as may tempt them to copy and to purſue the example. I ſay then; that we had need to demonſtrate at leaſt, that the Americans act unjuſtly; before we pretend to accuſe them of acting rebelliouſly: the latter charge without the former would be a notable and a curious

curious paradox in law, in politics and in morality. They advance particularly three defences; the neceſſary and the inherent rights of humanity, the eſſential conſtitution of England and their provincial grants and charters: every one of theſe muſt be fully diſproved and removed out of the way before that the brand of rebellion can be fixed upon the foreheads of that people. I do not mean at this moment to launch again into that large ocean. I ſpeak now no opinion: my American countrymen have on theſe ſubjects found friends and advocates the latchet of whoſe ſhoes this writer is not worthy to unlooſe; although he may have endeavoured not to be wanting on the occaſion with his mite. I ſhall leave this warfare of words, where it is between the mercenary troops on the one ſide and the militia on the other. I readily reſt it on that iſſue only repeating once more with reſpect to it; that there is no crime of rebellion in America, if there is no right of taxation in Great-Britain.

It may perhaps be obſerved; that Mr. Hampden was ſupported by two parts of the

the parliament and that he only denied his ſhip-money to the ſingle command of the King: whereas our Americans are in arms againſt the ſtatutes and the authority of the whole legiſlature. They pretend likewiſe however to be in a ſituation and to ſtand on a ground with reſpect to that point very different from the inhabitants of Great-Britain. I don't at preſent meddle in that matter: but the parliament here referred to (and of which Mr. Hampden was a member) was ſummoned by force and by means of a Scotch army, which probably marched into the kingdom for that purpoſe. It ſubſiſted under under an extraordinary and an extorted power of not being diſſolved but by itſelf. Our ancient Barons acted on great exigencies ſometimes in their collective, ſometimes in their legiſlative capacity and were in this latter caſe ſometimes called together with the good will of the King and ſometimes by compulſion upon him. What regard however does at the time any man pay to the expreſs words of many acts of parliament, who once erects in England his ſtandard againſt the crown? Did the Houſe of Lords or the Houſe of Commons addreſs the Prince of Orange

to

to come over from Holland? I hardly know, whether it is lawful for me to ſay, that the revolution was brought about in the face of the higheſt written laws of the land; but the ſtatutes of treaſon, the ſceptre of the King and the cuſtom of ſucceſſion all plied and bent in that day, like twigs of ozièr. We ſhall be told, that our anceſtors were on ſuch high occaſions warranted by reaſon and by ſelf-preſervation. Who is more forward to acknowledge that than the writer? But what is then become of thoſe principles? Did they in the year eighty-eight abandon England never to be known there again; when a few men were once ſatisfied with their having got at the head of the government? Have they under the preſent planet loſt their influence and have power and force taken their place? But it may be ſaid; that our all was in thoſe ancient times attacked and muſt have been ſurrendered by ſubmiſſion. Will not the Americans in anſwer to this reply the preſent claim of taxation to be a net; which evidently catches and covers the whole property of their continent? We have by the means of ſuch maxims and ſuch motives of action in thoſe preceding us inherited and

do

do enjoy the higheſt of human advantages, our liberties and our properties; we mean then beyond doubt not to deny or to diſavow them in any due caſe of another people our kinſmen, our brethren, the common offspring of the ſame forefathers and progenitors. I make here however no preciſe compariſons: my concluſion is general; that therefore the Americans and all other communities of men are according to the practice of our anceſtors, the right of the revolution and the principles of the people of England warranted in a juſt ſelf-defence and a righteous cauſe to wage war, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, with the whole or with any part of the world.

I had with regard to the future fact likewiſe rather, that any other would anſwer than the writer; I mean, how long it would probably be, before that the real practice of taking the little all of this poor and this beginning people might accompany the pretenſion ſupported by the power. The property of America does wonders in the poſſeſſion and the diſpoſition of its owners, wonders that may make ſome men amazed, if they ſhall continue hardened; but would the whole

of

of it be many breakfaſts for a Britiſh miniſter with two or three ways-and-means men at his table? What hands have on the head of taxation been the heavieſt of the whole world? *Dic quibus in terris*— What ſtate or kingdom is now indebted and mortgaged the higheſt of any that ever was upon the earth? If we have wantonly ſquandered the fair lot left us by our own fore-fathers or have baſely and meanly conſented to its being done, is that a juſt reaſon for us to bereave other more prudent perſons of the inheritance of their anceſtors or the acquiſitions of their induſtry? Mankind contend againſt tyranny, in order to have ſomething of their own and ſome controul over it; but where is the difference to any people by whom they are deprived of their all; if that the evil itſelf is to be done them?

But what are we, if the Americans are not rebels? Is it imagined; that their dictionaries do not contain on that head, as many hard words, as our own? The rectitude of our actions refers to the ſame claim of taxation, with theirs; but on the oppoſide ſide. Let us build as high, as Babel; all we raiſe muſt reſt on our firſt

firſt foundation: the edifice above will certainly be ſtrong or ruinous; as the ground below is ſound or rotten. We may cover the ſea with our ſhips and the land with our troops; we may add ingratitude, injuſtice, rapine, murder and other crimes to one another, as the giants of of old are ſaid to have heaped mountain upon mountain againſt heaven; but we cannot by that means turn right into wrong, tyranny into protection or ſelf-defence into rebellion. Cruelty has often disfigured a fair beginning and made more black many a foul one; but we may, as well hope to waſh with water an Æthiopian white, as to change by power the complexion of a bad cauſe. When we accuſe the Americans of offending againſt our national ſtatutes; let us remember ourſelves, that there is a law more unalterable than that of the Medes and the Perſians and higher and ſtronger than acts of the Britiſh Parliament.

But does not this ſubject open to us obſervations of another ſort; although whether ſuch as will be taken in an evil or a favourable light for the Americans, I am at a loſs to ſay? Theſe have ſuddenly and

and totally diſſolved for the preſent at leaſt our government throughout thirteen colonies and over a vaſt tract of country; they have hitherto wanted time or perhaps on our account inclination to ſettle and to eſtabliſh another regular one in the room of it: they are nevertheleſs ſo far from falling into confuſion and into diſtraction among themſelves thereupon; that they have in the ſame very ſhort time raiſed and formed a ſtrong defence, have maintained an open and a declared war with a moſt potent nation directed by miniſters earneſtly bent upon their miſchief, have ſucceſsfully and effectually made head againſt our attacks, againſt an army compoſed of the flower of our troops, commanded by choſen generals, ſupported by the fleet and backed with all the power and the means of Great-Britain. They rather threaten to gain of ours, than ſeem likely to loſe of their own. The whole conteſt has hitherto not coſt them a thouſand men. Theſe circumſtances and many more conſidered, may not any one venture to affirm; that it is an event unequalled by any of the ſame nature in the annals of mankind, the victorious contention of Holland with Spain not excepted? It is difficult

difficult to determine, whether the vigour or the diſcretion of their counſels and their actions has been moſt diſtinguiſhable. The whole is an admirable, but a natural effect of freedom united with a knowledge and an experience of government. Some men ſeem ſo much out of humour with the neceſſary conſequences of their own conduct; that they will perhaps hardly permit me to ſay that it does a credit and an honour to the actual ſtate of humanity. Let us however hope, that it is a ſmall glimpſe or promiſe of a much more improved and more advantageous condition, than the preſent; to which the general community of mankind is daily and by degrees advancing. Barbarous tribes of Savages, ſuch as Indians or as Corſicans, are like a looſe body of ſand, of which no firm building can be framed. A people of ſlaves, the populace and the janiſſaries of Conſtantinople or any other can on their occaſions act only by ſudden impulſes, ſtarts and ſallies; without a plan, without prudence and without foreſight. A happy combination of order with liberty makes the caſe of our North-Americans equally to differ from each of theſe other and ſupplies the defects of

them both. They have all over their country many and various repreſentative inſtitutions; one for their whole union, the reſt for particular provinces, counties, cities or other diſtricts; ſome of them ancient, ſome new and introduced on account of this critical and difficult conjuncture. Theſe bodies are truly and really without falſhood or fiction choſen and nominated either immediately or ultimately by the perſons, whom they pretend to repreſent and for whom they act: their duration is ſhort and their intire dependence upon their conſtituents: their countrymen caſt their eyes towards them, they can confide in them and they pay them accordingly a due and a deſerved reſpect and ſubmiſſion. Theſe can therefore reſtrain, encourage, regulate and conduct their actions on great or on neceſſary occaſions. They are moſt wiſe and moſt excellent eſtabliſhments, however ſome men proud of the little paltry power or diſtinction thrown upon them by a prince or a miniſter may pretend to deſpiſe and to traduce them: they can only obtain among a free people, who will ever find the benefit of them; as will their enemies the diſadvantage: they proceed indeed from

from the multitude and not from a ſingle maſter, they bring with them no profit, but in the ſervice of the public; but they are on account of theſe circumſtances perhaps neither the leſs uſeful or the leſs reſpectable. Would to God, that no contraſt or contrary example could be produced of any men nearer home and advanced from a different quarter than from the people, who have by their inconſiderate conduct firſt involved their country in the guilt and the blame and who are by the ſame means now bringing on its head the miſchiefs and the miſeries of the preſent moſt unhappy troubles. Theſe bodies might have been as beneficial to Great-Britain, as to America; if that a due uſe had been made of them. They removed from us the neceſſity of having to do with confuſed and enraged multitudes; we might by their means have treated with wiſe and with conſiderate men: we needed no longer to have been in the hands of our own creatures and our own governors, ſome of whom have by their falſe, their flattering, their ſelf-intereſted advices and advice had but too much ſhare in theſe miſchiefs; we ſhould directly have dealt

with thoſe, who well know and who would truly ſpeak the opinions and the inclinations of their conſtituents: they are the very proviſion, which we ſhould have wiſhed for as the moſt proper inſtruments to bring back to their obedience theſe our ancient colonies and dependencies. I do not however mean by bribery or by baſe methods: there is not one of theſe men, but would be moſt unworthy of his ſituation and of the truſt repoſed in him, every drop of blood in whoſe veins would not revolt at the leaſt hint or appearance of any ſuch propoſition nor would their conſtituents be in that manner impoſed upon; but I mean by fair, fit, honeſt, honourable terms, by conditions equally and mutually advantageous both to the colonies and to the mother-country and which ſurely might without difficulty have been found, at leaſt far better and for Great-Britain eſpecially, than the preſent unnatural and, it is to be feared, on our part fatal civil war. Let us then not affect to contemn thoſe, whom no man in his ſenſes can but honour: let us not arrogantly reject every thing, which comes from their quarter: they are an appointment of importance; if we will not profit by

by them for our good, we ſhall certainly feel the force of them by our evil. A late application from the chief Congreſs of that continent and its reception here do but too well warrant the urging and the preſſing of this point: ſuch another may never come from thence; but if neither reaſon nor experience nor even opportunity provided and propoſed to our hands will produce with us any effect; what fate can a people expect, who only turn againſt themſelves the means, which Providence is pleaſed to offer them for their ſafety?

The writer however does not mean on all occaſions of this unfortunate diviſion to warrant each action of our American countrymen under every poſſible perſecution or provocation. I am unacquainted with their miſconduct hitherto: let us drive or lead them into none ſuch by our own behaviour and example. We are but at the beginning of troubles; the worſt parts of this ſtory are probably behind. The paſſions, the vices, the frailties of private perſons will not fail to find a place amidſt ſuch ungovernable broils and conteſts. What man or aſſembly of men can direct and confine within

compaſs all the confuſion, the violence, the evils and the waſte of a civil war? Who knows, whither the wind and the weather will blow the flame, when a whole region is on fire? What muſt in that caſe the firſt incendiaries not have to anſwer for, be they who they will; but how can any human repentance ever be ſufficient atonement in thoſe, who having undertaken the care of a great country and of its ſafety and its welfare fling nevertheleſs with their own raſh or impious hands the accurſed brands, which light up in it ſuch a general and ſuch a fatal conflagration? Men of that turn certainly conceive in their minds no image of the many calamities occaſioned by them: they would otherwiſe never ſleep in peace, who now appear perhaps little diſturbed, but by their own diſſipations or their own ambition. What muſt be the ſituation of any one, who has it every moment to reflect; that he was born for the misfortunes of mankind and the ruin of his country? Let us however not make a very bad matter exceedingly worſe by harſhneſs, by cruelty, by any proceedings, which may require or may provoke and which will in ſuch a caſe unqueſtionably be

be repaid with repriſals. It will be heaping up of harm, that muſt infallibly fall heavily on ourſelves. Hard words and big pretenſions at home will be but a poor alleviation for the ſufferings of thoſe unfortunate perſons, who ſhall in their turns be the victims of ſuch a behaviour on our parts. I have before ſaid ſomething on this ſubject: I will dwell no longer on it now. The weight however of all the evils of this horrible civil war will lie upon the authors of the whole and every individual will beſides be reſponſible for his own immediate miſdeeds: ſingle and independent actions muſt be judged of by themſelves; but the general cauſe will ever retain its original colour and complexion.

We have however in a pamphlet intitled Taxation no Tyranny been told *that government cannot be limited; that there muſt be in all ſtates an unlimited government or one bounded only by phyſical neceſſity; that this may do wrong, but that it muſt nevertheleſs not be reſiſted; for that can be done only by rebellion.** This is the poſition,

* Taxation no Tyranny, p. 24. In ſovereignty there are no gradations. There may be limited royalty, there may

poſition. I would adviſe ſuch writers well to beware how they renew principles, which formerly produced among us ſo much miſchief; how they raſhly unſheath again the ſword dyed with the blood of Charles the Firſt and which has twice driven into baniſhment his unfortunate family. The doctrine of deſpotiſm did theſe things and more. We ſhall perhaps be told, that this doctrine was then applied to the Prince, but that now it is ſo to the Parliament. Alas! *a thin partition*---I will at this inſtant not inquire, whether there is in that diſtinction always as much real difference, as the firſt ſound of the words may ſometimes ſeem to imply or to import; I will not aſk

---

may be limited conſulſhip; *but there can be no limited government.* There muſt in every ſociety be ſome power or other, from which there is no appeal, which admits no reſtrictions, which pervades the whole maſs of the community, regulates and adjuſts all ſubordination; enacts laws and repeals them, erects or annuls judicatures, extends or contracts privileges, exempt itſelf from queſtion or controul *and bounded only by phyſical neceſſity.*

By this power wherever it ſubſiſts all legiſlation and juriſdiction is animated and maintained. From this all legal rights are emanations, which, whether equitably or not may be legally recalled; it is not infallible, for *it may do wrong*; *but it is irreſiſtible, for it can be reſiſted only by rebellion,* by an act which makes it queſtionable, what ſhall be from thence forward the ſupreme power.

aſk again, whether there were in the way no Acts of Parliament, when the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay, marched to London and was made King in his own right; but the propoſitions and the expreſſions before referred to evidently ſignify either a right in the government to do wrong or a duty of paſſive obedience and of non-reſiſtance in the ſubject, when there is no right at all in the government; the one or the other of which appears to be no better than downright nonſenſe, contradiction and abſurdity and but a moſt weak and moſt deſpicable foundation for the great work of overturning the liberties and the properties not of one ſingle people only, but of all mankind.

When this claim of abſolute power was formerly trumpeted under thoſe princes, whom it was to have made magnificently great, but who miſerably ſuffered by its means; the paraſites, the flatterers, the hunters after preferment of thoſe days firſt founded it on divine right; but they had very evil fortune. A ſecond ſort then aroſe, who ſaw this and who beſides never loved to walk in the ſame way with the others, even when they ſought the ſame end: theſe fixed it in the ſtrength of

of the Leviathan; which means in plain Engliſh and when examined to the bottom neither more or leſs than the law of the ſtrongeſt or the longeſt ſword. Our preſent advocates of the ſame cauſe are not pleaſed to be explicit on this ſubject. They advance the like exorbitant and extravagant claim, but do not ſo clearly explain on what ground: It ſeems now to over-ſhadow the earth with its body, but to hide its head in the clouds. Divine right however is gone much out of faſhion: ſome other people formerly very fond of it are now ſhifting their own demands upon a ground, which they like better. The pain of rebellion is likewiſe produced for the proof and the ſanction of this power. It is undoubtedly of the eſtabliſhment of the Leviathan; although there may be ſome caution with reſpect to ſpeaking out. I ſay then to this, that the longeſt ſword is undoubtedly a very reſpectable authority and what no prudent perſon would adviſe another haſtily and raſhly to diſpute, wherever it happens to be for the time; but that it is apt to change hands. The Behemoth may come and may overpower the Leviathan. The ſword of Oliver proved longer or ſtron-

ger

ger than that of Charles: he became then the governing beaſt. What a parliament is to-day, aſſemblies or committees or congreſſes may be to-morrow. That criterion determines now nothing between us and the Americans: it refers all, whether we are tyrants or they are rebels to be decided, when that the ſwords ſhall fairly and fully have been meaſured. What are the pains and the penalties of rebellion to thoſe, who get the better? Will this writer or any other go and hang that bell on the neck of Waſhington or of Putnam; if they and their continent ſhall be conquerors? This is crying havoc and letting ſlip the dogs of war on all occaſions. Don't reſiſt unleſs you are the ſtrongeſt; leſt you ſhould be ſhort by the head: if you can make yourſelf maſter, all is well; my objection is nothing, and your enemy muſt then look to his. This is the doctrine, which is to keep peace between ſtates and their ſubjects: it preaches abſolute power on the one hand, rebellion on the other and nothing between. It would no doubt ſuit wonderfully well with patrons bent on ruling deſpotically and ready rather to riſque their due authority, than not to attain

tain to that end. The arguments of all from the paradoxical dean to the itinerant preacher bottom on the ſame principle, which do not ſtand on the ground of conſent: even the words of legiſlative authority and ſupremacy ſo extremely reſpectable in their right and their proper ſenſe ſeem in the diſcourſe of ſome individuals to mean no more, than the ſtrength of the Leviathan.

Let us however totally quit this narrow ground and let us endeavour to conſider in ſome general, extenſive, and deciſive manner this moſt important and to all mankind moſt intereſting queſtion—Whether that there is and there muſt or there can be in every ſtate a deſpotic, abſolute, arbitrary governing body of men without check, without controul and whom it is unlawful to reſiſt in any caſe whatſoever without exception. I ſay then thereupon; that all things will probably have a period, which have had a beginning; ſo muſt however moſt certainly every human inſtitution. States have their birth, become mature and then decay: none is nor can be ſo well contrived or well conſtituted, but that it will through its internal

ternal weakneſs and by corruption or by ſome other means become in time the prey of abſolute and of arbitrary power. This has long been the caſe of the many free governments of Greece and of the mighty and the eminent republic of Rome; it is the conſtant courſe of the whole world: every ancient nation has taken and every other muſt and will take its courſe in the ſame manner: the preſent public appearances of Europe are not ſuch as to deny credit to that point. Let us then conſider upon this the conſequences of the doctrine in queſtion. Here are all mankind at once condemned to a perpetual bondage: there remains no right of reſiſtance, no remedy, no redreſs, no means of recovery for them, at leaſt unleſs that their tyrants ſhould of themſelves be pleaſed to lay down their arms and their power and to beg of their ſubjects to accept again of their liberties and their properties. I need not ſtay to inquire, whether ſuch is the nature of tyranny or the purpoſe of the propoſition before us. A total, general deſpotiſm muſt by degrees obtain and in the end reign every where: it will, as it were, cover and envelope the whole globe of our earth.

What

What a comfortable condition of humanity is thus carved out for us! Is this then the work of that moſt benevolent Power, whoſe every ſmalleſt production beſpeaks a goodneſs infinitely beyond the wit of the wiſeſt man to trace or to underſtand; can they be divines, ſcholars and philoſophers, who preach and who teach theſe doctrines and what are the rewards, for which men of letters ſo lower themſelves as to maintain the rectitude of ruining their country, the right of irreſiſtible tyranny and the unavoidable and the irrecoverable ſlavery of the whole human ſpecies? There was formerly a mythology of two eternal, independent beings, the one good and the other evil; who governed the univerſe, but who were ever at variance with one another. If that this could be the caſe and that the bad power was contrary to the Perſian opinion the ſtrongeſt and the uppermoſt ſuch a ſtate of things might naturally and neceſſarily obtain on the habitation of men: but any one may be bold to ſay, that this oppreſſive and this deteſtable ſyſtem can on no other terms nor other ſuppoſition take place and propoſitions of the ſort in queſtion would have better become the prieſts and

and the miniſters of ſuch a malevolent divinity; than they do the ſervants or the dependants of that all-preſerving principle, which has framed the earth, the air and the ſeas and which is pleaſed to grant unto man life, liberty and property for the purpoſe of uſing and of enjoying them.

So much for the doctrine of deſpotiſm. It is however to be hoped, that we are not yet ſo bowed and ſo broken to the yoke, as to trample with indifference upon our beſt rights and privileges; we are ſurely not going to become a bye-word among nations and the ſhame of our own anceſtors; we cannot certainly be unwilling to hear the firſt intereſts of ourſelves and of all mankind endeavoured to be defended againſt ſuch extravagant and ſuch exorbitant claims over us. The American cauſe requires on this head, no more than is ſaid already and ſo I would be underſtood; the preſent writer however does not ſcruple, but is proud to ſet his hand to the principles of liberty, whenever and wherever they ſhall lie before him. Let me therefore be on this ſubject ſuffered to point towards the outlines of a ſyſtem of civil government, at leaſt very different from

from that of ſlavery. Good and evil, pleaſure and pain, happineſs and miſery are then the intereſting objects of all beings endowed with a ſenſation of them: they are, as it were, the polar ſtars towards which the axle of every world muſt perpetually point: they are the motives of all human actions and endeavours: every thing elſe refers finally and perhaps ſolely to them: the one of them of neceſſity is our conſtant deſire and the other our unalterable averſion. Good or happineſs ſeems indeed to be the great end, and as it were, the foundation of the univerſe itſelf, ſo far as our weak faculties enable us to judge upon ſuch a tranſcendent ſubject: mankind is not only intitled, but bound to purſue it. Such is the general and the unalterable nature allotted to us by the tranſcendent principle on which we depend and from which we have received our being. The ſame high author has under theſe ſanctions of good and of evil given us ſeveral laws, as duty to our parents, protection of our children, truth, juſtice and others: that is, he has either inſtantly or by neceſſary chains of cauſes and of effects duly and reſpectively annexed to the obſervance or the violation

of

of ſuch rules the reward of pleaſure or the penalty of pain. Theſe his laws all tend to the ſame purpoſe of the general happineſs: they are prior and ſuperior to any human appointment: men and nations may neglect or may offend againſt, they cannot however repeal, annul or abrogate them; theſe chains will continue conſtant and unbroken notwithſtanding our ſtrongeſt efforts, our fulleſt reſolves, all our acts and our ſtatutes, our cuſtoms and our practices to the contrary: a higher power than ours holds his hand to this point. Theſe things ſometimes proceed in a plain and an immediate, but often likewiſe in a complicated, an unobſervable or to us an unaccountable manner; which is no wonder; ſince that they are the combined effects of infinite power, wiſdom and goodneſs. This is noble matter, but into which I do not now mean to enter nicely and minutely. I am not pretending to explain a compleat ſyſtem of morality or of policy; it will be ſufficient for my ſubject to obſerve the foundations, on which theſe ſtand. The moral however much reſembles the material world: outward force is the means, which commands us in the latter: we cannot in

it alter the great laws of nature: numberleſs operations therein are notwithſtanding ſubjected to our will and our power; but ever within the bounds preſcribed to us. I ſay, that it is the ſame in moral things: very many circumſtances of them are within the compaſs and the competence of man; but ſo as we obſerve our limits. We are in the one caſe confined by an external ſtrength, which fate does not ſuffer us to overcome: we are in the other reſtrained by the conſiderations of our own good and our own evil where a greater freedom is left to us of action; we have nevertheleſs in both caſes laws and bounds from above. Civil government is among the things within our province and a moſt important one: it is by experience found to contribute in a great degree towards the happineſs of our ſpecies: it is an union and a compact for that end and for that only; for procuring the good and the advantage and for preventing the evil and the calamities of thoſe, who compoſe it: a prodigious object when millions of mankind are therein concerned: this is the principle from which it proceeds: theſe are the views from which it never can conſti-

conſtitutionally ſwerve. To agree and to aſſociate together for our miſchief and our miſery, does not even come within our conception; it would be ſomething more than null and void, it would be utterly abſurd if that we did. I ſay nothing how far every man has in himſelf or can in conſequence give to others a command over his life; but what contracts would or could bind any one to continue in exiſtence and at the ſame time not to deſire or to endeavour after his own felicity? There are various and different forms of civil government: its chief means is the inſtitution of laws and of magiſtrates and its main ends are perſonal ſafety and private property: the right of ſelf-defence is in neceſſary caſes preſerved under it to individuals: rights belonging to the body and not parted with remain there; rights entruſted by it, but being at an end return again thither. This circumſtance of magiſtracy is not inherent in the perſon like a quality received from nature of youth or health, of ſtrength or beauty; but it is a truſt, an office, a juriſdiction. When magiſtrates more or fewer in number and higher or lower in rank, a king, a conſtable, an aſſembly, a ſenate, a legiſlature

exceed this their public capacity, they become and are in that reſpect no more than private perſons: they may then be withſtood and be reſiſted, as ſuch; if they offer violence and injuſtice. Should a king in a tranſport of paſſion endeavour to ſlay one of his ſubjects; who had no means of defence, but by the deſtruction of the aggreſſor; it would for ſuch a ſubject be as lawful to put an end to the life of his king, as to that of any other man in their common nation on the like occaſion. Where the right of command in the magiſtrate ends, there begins in the caſe of wrong the right of reſiſtance in the ſubject. On this propoſition depend all perſonal ſafety and all private property, wherever civil ſociety has been introduced: there will be left neither the one or the other of them throughout the whole world; they are now not to be found among men in a ſtate of nature and they will beſides be totally baniſhed from every empire, kingdom and commonwealth upon earth, if that this point be but determined in the negative. Should then any government pervert the very purpoſe of its inſtitution; ſhould it inſtead of the benefit and the proſperity ſeek the bane and the deſtruc-

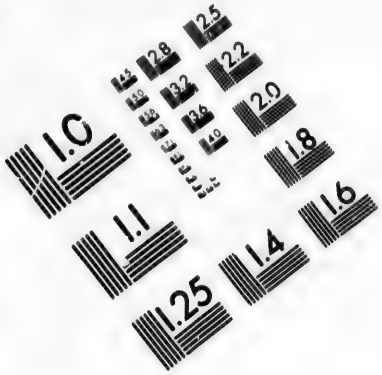
tion

tion of the people confided to its care; to make a queſtion; whether theſe have themſelves in that caſe a right to purſue and to provide for their happineſs by ſuch means, as they conceive the moſt conducive thereto, be it by reſiſtance or by obedience; ſeems much what it would be to debate, whether it is lawful for the ſparks to fly upwards or for ſtones to fall to the ground or for the planets to gravitate towards the center of their ſyſtem: they muſt all of them equally be impelled and be drawn by their reſpective nature to their proper end. It is likewiſe not permitted for magiſtrates to abrogate the eternal and the unalterable laws of Providence. It is ſo very far from being true; that there is or there can be upon the earth a body of men deſpotic, abſolute and *bound only by phyſical neceſſity*, than which the Engliſh language hardly furniſhes a more emphatical expreſſion; that ſhould a whole nation command with an unanimous voice one of its individuals to ſlay his own ſon or to lift up his hand againſt his father: I will be bold to ſay, that ſuch a perſon would have a right rather to reſiſt than to perform it; if he could on the face of the earth find help

or protection or if he was of himself able to master those, who should endeavour to enforce the impious command. The first laws must ever be those of the incomprehensible power, on which the whole world depends.

It may perhaps be hereupon asked; why are not then almost all states in continual convulsions and distractions, since men armed and tempted with power are so apt to trespass beyond their due bounds. I say from the same simple principle of this tendency and this attachment to happiness perpetually subsisting in all beings. A general love and desire of peace, an aversion to disturbance and to confusion, the common interest of every one in order and in union remain and continue notwithstanding the imprudence or the ambition of those at the helm. The acquiescence, the forbearance, the patience of the people and the public take place, where the strict right of their rulers is at its extent. How often do these preserve and uphold governments, after that they have themselves by their ill conduct weakened or perhaps destroyed their first and their original foundations? This is the great

great and the effectual cauſe which maintains the internal tranquillity of nations and, if I may ſay ſo, the domeſtic quiet of the world. How happy would it be for mankind if the outward peace of ſtates with each other was half as well preſerved, which commonly depends not upon the people, but upon their governments? It muſt be conſidered, that a right to reſiſt is almoſt always accompanied by another circumſtance, which is, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, a like and an equal right not to reſiſt. A traveller has a right to reſiſt a robber on the road, but his piſtols are in his holſters or he can ſpare his money and he deſires to ſleep in a whole ſkin; he is not according to the vulgar expreſſion ſaid to be common on ſuch occaſions obliged to have his brains blown about his ears, only becauſe he has the benefit of ſelf-defence, if he pleaſes. It is common to have a right to a ſmall ſum of money, but which will coſt ten times its value to demand in a court of law. A right does not deprive people of their ſenſes. A private perſon in England would ſoon be ſhot upon the highway or be ruined in Weſtminſter-hall or would meet with ſome other miſchance and be in the mean time



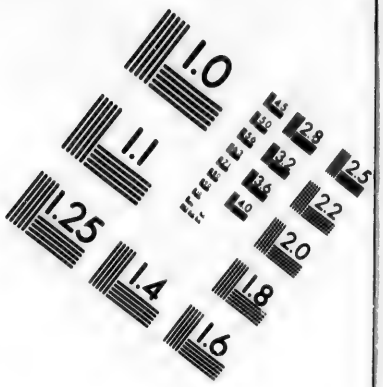
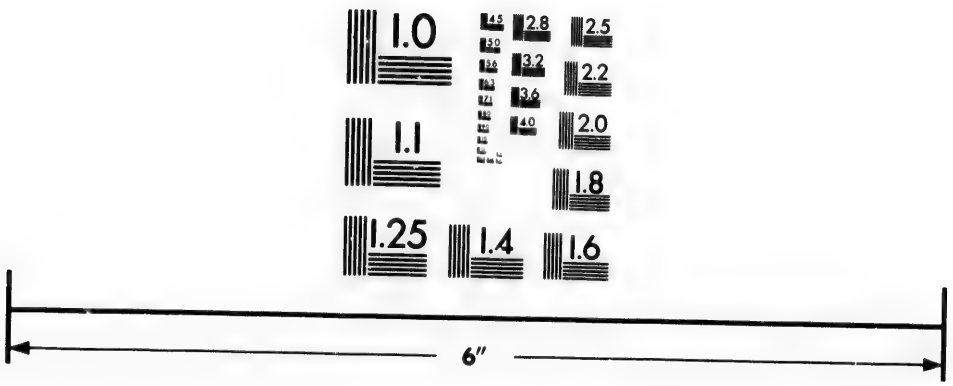
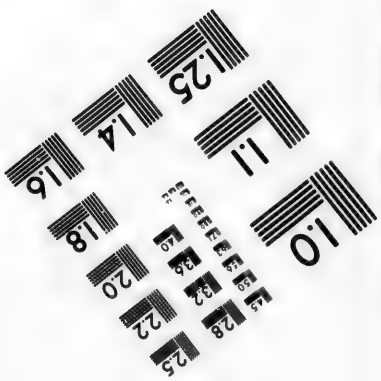


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)





Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

excluded from all honeſt company, as troubleſome and quarrelſome; who ſhould purſue and proſecute one half of the rights, which fortune to make no mention of nature confers upon him. It is not to be imagined, that every man caſts about the firſt moment of riſing out of his bed in a morning only how to diſturb the ſtate or to deſtroy himſelf. An Engliſhman has a ſhorter method than to trouble others, when he is in ſo diſtempered a mood or however he would ſoon be brought to a better mind in a country, where content and good government give a vigour to the laws. The Earl of Eſſex is ſaid in the reign of Queen Elizabeth to have run through the ſtreets of London calling and crying to arms: the citizens kept about their buſineſs in peace: he ſlept that evening in the Tower and from thence ſtepped ſoon afterwards to the ſcaffold. It is one thing raſhly and wantonly to unſettle the quiet of a ſtate and another very different to move with the whole; when grievances are inſupportable, when events are ripe and when the hand of Providence prepares a revolution as the laſt reſource of an oppreſſed and a ſuffering people. Governments have ſtrong and wide and deep roots

nor

nor are to be moved or ſhaken but by violent hurricanes, by high and public and probably not ill-grounded diſcontents. The head and the heighth even of the laſt rebellion in Great-Britain give no conviction to the contrary. Theſe were totally owing to the miſmanagement of the adminiſtration at the time; as might from authentic materials be eaſily demonſtrated and as is well known to thoſe, who are acquainted with the conduct of the regency and the cabinet on that occaſion. How ſmall a matter was the former riſing for the ſame cauſe in the year fifteen, which had nevertheleſs more hidden foundation and was at the bottom more abetted than the other? Is it believed, that ſubjects are more apt to become rebels, than their rulers are to turn tyrants; although the latter circumſtance often gives occaſion to a charge of the former? How many free ſtates have by gentle degrees ſunk into ſlavery for one righteous rule, that was ever overturned by violence? The diſturbance of the public peace is to a whole people always a moſt ſerious and moſt important object. It would perhaps be on a fair examination found, that men of moderate means love and poſſibly that they

they enjoy too their domeſtic comfort and felicity, at leaſt as much as the rich and the great. What alone ſeems to cauſe the true difficulty in this conſideration is, that ſome perſons are ſo elevated with their privileges and their prerogatives, as ever to look down with contempt upon the community: they can brook no condeſcenſion towards that quarter: they cannot perſwade themſelves to own; that they hold or they enjoy by their means ſuch precious boons, as riches, honours and power: they deſire enough to accept and to poſſeſs thoſe benefits, but it is upon the proudeſt and the moſt preſumptuous terms: give me leave to ſay, that they are hardly willing to acknowledge the ſuperiority of Providence itſelf on this ſubject: I mean, that they deny the validity of his laws and, if they ſometimes introduce his authority, it ſeems to be only for the purpoſe of putting themſelves in his place. It is however to be feared, that there are hanging over our heads events; which may before long bring to another ſenſe of themſelves ſuch men, as muſt for that end learn the hard leſſon of misfortunes and of calamities.

It is perhaps no very uncommon opinion; that the many and the multitude are conſtantly endeavouring to run wrong and that their rulers and their governors are ever hard at work to ſet or to keep them to rights; but this is a fancy, which has not the leaſt foundation except in the prejudices of the perſons entertaining it and directly the contrary of which will upon a fair enquiry into the fact be certainly found the caſe. I will appeal to any one, whoſe ſenſes are not abſolutely bought and ſold; whether it is the people and the public or whether it is the adminiſtration and (if a handful of inconſiderate men are to be dignified with that name) the government, who have in the preſent caſe and in our own country ſought confuſion and enſued it? This reflection will likewiſe hold true upon a larger ſcale. States almoſt always flouriſh according to their freedom and according to the greater or the leſſer proportion of the community, which partakes in the government of them; but princes without reſtraint and acting only by their miniſters ſeldom or never fail to turn into deſarts their dominions. Let any one caſt his eyes or his thoughts over France, over Spain, over Italy,

Italy, over Germany without paſſing from Europe into Turkey and into Perſia, all of them countries moſt bountifully bleſſed by the beneficent hand of nature, and having ſo done let him then ſay, whether it is rebellion or it is deſpotiſm, which lays waſte the world. Our own nation was formerly famous for the check and the controul which it kept upon its governors and ſo has it likewiſe been for its figure abroad and its felicity at home: our domeſtic hiſtory however conſiſts ſince the Revolution of a conſtant complaiſance in our parliaments for our princes and their miniſters, I mean in our parliaments, that are paſt; but is the moment very far remote, when we ſhall ſenſibly and perhaps fatally experience, whether the abjectneſs and the obſequiouſneſs of this latter period have more contributed to the proſperity or even to the quiet and the ſecurity of the public, than the former firmneſs, ſteadineſs and let me add, at times warrantable and neceſſary reſiſtance of our anceſtors? We are ſure, that the one rendered us an inſtance of a rich, a powerful, and upon the whole likewiſe a well-governed nation; God forbid, that the other ſhould firſt fling us into confuſion

ſion and then ſink us into nothing! But it may be ſaid; are there then no inſtances of popular diſorders and diſturbances? I anſwer; what were the tumults of Tyler, of Cade or of Maſſanello more than fires of ſtraw kindled and extinguiſhed in an inſtant? Such things are not the wounds of a needle, if I may ſay ſo, in the welfare or the hiſtory of a nation. It was the defence of the conſtitution, which drove our anceſtors into arms againſt Charles the firſt nor ſo far did they ſuffer by it. The conduct of Cromwell was by the means of a veteran army devoted to its leader a ſhort turn upon both prince and people, both royaliſts and republicans; but the bent and the inclinations of the whole righted again that affair in a few years. It was from the temper of the community at the time, that General Monk took his meaſures. This ambition however and this apoſtacy of Cromwell ſo diſgraced the republican cauſe and ſo ſunk the republican ſpirit, that they have ſince never held up their heads in England. Were not the perſons now preſiding over us ſo far above the poor counſels of this writer, my humble advice to them would be; that they ſhould beware of reviving them.

them. I do not at all mean, that there is in the nation now any tendency that way: the preſent complexion of the public appears to be of a very different caſt. It muſt be totally the management of our miniſters; if republicaniſm does in our days ever recover and raiſe again its creſt among us. Who knows however what may poſſibly and by induſtry be brought to paſs? Some men have a moſt ſucceſsful hand at miſchief, when they ſet about it. They have certainly given riſe to thirteen republics elſewhere; who appear a ſhort time ſince to have little thought of any ſuch thing; but it is to be hoped, that the experience already proved will cauſe them to ſtop their headlong career, before that they produce any ſuch deſperate effects nearer home. There is on the ſubject of our compariſon in the balance of the people however many millions of men, who have with reſpect to political concerns no intereſt but in the good of the public; there are the lights, the experience and the underſtanding of a whole nation: whereas on the other ſide and in the miniſterial ſcale are often only the blindneſs, the obſtinacy and the phrenzy of a few, who are but too apt to make the whole

whole a prey to their private paſſions and advantage. Where is the wonder then that both the paſt hiſtory and the preſent condition of mankind ſhould unite to inſtruct us, that it is not the many and the multitude; but that it is courts and cabinets which are the more given to go wrong and which commonly want the curb and the reſtraint of the others to keep them right.

Some one may perhaps on the other hand here demand; what force and effect then can this right of the collective body have, if it is of ſo gentle and ſo inactive a nature, as is here repreſented? I anſwer; that it is like a ſword, which may in caſe of neceſſity be drawn out of its ſcabbard. It is a power dormant and quiet in all tolerable times; but which provoked by oppreſſion beyond bounds has in the hiſtory of mankind tumbled many a tyrant from his throne. It keeps even on common occaſions lawleſs and deſpotical men in ſome check and ſome awe. How little liberty is now to be any where found; but what would be the condition of nations; if that this right and the ſenſe and the apprehenſion of it were totally removed from among mankind?

It is a circumſtance, which has ſometimes been much agitated on this ſubject; who is then to judge when and whether theſe magiſtrates, theſe rulers are within or without their limits, are doing right or wrong? I truſt, this point to have been already explained: the queſtion however anſwers itſelf. Grant to any man a grain of power and let him in the laſt inſtance but decide upon the extent of its juriſdiction and the rectitude of its execution and you give him the whole world. He will be far more powerful than the famous mathematician and mechanic of old; for he will not move, but he will poſſeſs the earth: ſuch is the boundleſs ambition of man. The very point formerly propoſed by King Charles the firſt to the twelve judges was; whether he might not lawfully levy ſhip-money in caſe of neceſſity and whether he was not judge of that neceſſity. He wanted nothing more to put the whole property of his people in his power. It is therefore an utter abſurdity to ſuppoſe, that the perſons confided in are to determine this matter in their own caſe and for themſelves; but it muſt neceſſarily be the body of their conſtituents, from whom the truſt and the office are derived:

derived: but how will a whole nation or ſuch a number of people act and execute their judgment and their opinion? This is going back again: I ſhall only repeat, by ſupporting and by preſerving the peace of the ſubſiſting ſtate; except in caſes of the very laſt and utmoſt extremity; when men will no doubt again do, as many others and Engliſhmen in particular have ſo often done before. However we may have foregone the principles, we certainly have not forgotten the hiſtory of our anceſtors. Thus therefore does upon the whole the great concern of human happineſs firſt form civil government and then reſtrain the magiſtrate on the one hand and the multitude on the other: a moſt excellent inſtitution, when that incomparable principle is ſuffered to continue its operation and its influence; but if we once quit that object as the end and conſent as the means, we muſt neceſſarily run into a wilderneſs; where we cannot fail of falling a prey either to a qualified plunderer of a prince or to ſome bold and lawleſs leader of banditti, who carves out his fortune for himſelf with his ſword.

Let us ſee then, whether theſe opinions are not conſonant to the hiſtory and

the conſtitution of our own country, as well as applicable to the events of the preſent times. Our anceſtors formerly aſſembled and reſolved upon their laws and their meaſures in their collective capacity: their princes and their leaders were as evidently commiſſioned in the execution of them, as one private perſon is by another: the power then reverted to the body and on occaſion iſſued from it again. This was the firſt origin of our form of government; where we are to ſeek, where we ſhall find and by which we ſhall comprehend its real, original nature and eſſence. Whatever changes or variations have through neceſſity and the mutability of things ſince been made or happened in its outward form and circumſtances, theſe have all referred and related to its primitive inherent principle: this was on ſuch occaſions never underſtood to have been overturned or over-ruled. Repreſentation firſt took place inſtead of perſonal preſence: the condition of the nation united into one rendered this neceſſary: it was a great alteration, but it ſtands on the ſame ground of the conſent and the concurrence of the whole. Every freeman had in the beginning his voice

towards

towards chuſing the general repreſentatives. Elections began next to be confined and to be reſtricted: voters for counties were required to own a certain annual income in land: other reſtraints were likewiſe contrived: a nominal, artificial, fictitious freedom was introduced into cities and into towns inſtead of the true and the real one, a freedom only from ſlavery and from villenage: new and narrow rights of voting were invented: boroughs were empowered to ſend members of Parliament, to which the number of their inhabitants did upon a juſt and a general compariſon by no means entitle them: places once conſiderable came to decay and preſerved nevertheleſs that privilege. It is not more melancholy, than it is certain and evident, that our conſtitution has by the means of theſe abuſes multiplied and increaſed through a ſucceſſion of ages at length totally loſt its true and its juſt bias. I muſt be perſwaded, that the perſons now poſſeſſed of its powers would upon a proper application of the public reſtore to us our rightful and our ancient form of government; I mean, a delegated body as one part, which being fairly, equally, generally and

impartially choſen, may repreſent the whole by as natural and as neceſſary a connection, as a ſhadow repreſents its ſubſtance or the image in a mirror its original. Is it unlawful to ſay, that we ſhall be refuſed our right, if that ſuch a boon or demand ſhall be denied us? I truſt however, that this will not be the caſe and the times do certainly require, that we ſhould ſpeedily and earneſtly make the requeſt. How vain muſt then be the pretence, that perſons appointed in their greater and conſequently their governing part by a ſmall proportion only of the whole nation can have over us an abſolute and an arbitrary power in all caſes whatſoever without any exception, without redreſs or reſource in the laws of God or of man? This is ſpoken with reſpect to Great-Britain; but when the ſame claim is extended over countries diſtant from us ſeveral thouſand miles and being without the leaſt ſhare even in ſuch a choice and having governments and legiſlatures of their own and declaring with a wonderful unanimity againſt that claim, how can it but be numbered with infallibility, divine right and ſome other pretenſions of that ſort, which power has at times been able

more

more or leſs to impoſe and to ſpread among men, but againſt which reaſon exerciſed with any the leaſt degree of freedom has ever moſt ſtrongly revolted and remonſtrated? Neither is this all; the preſent diſpute particularly regards taxation. This ruling and this taxing body are to ſave and to ſpare in the pockets of themſelves and of their conſtituents preciſely as much money, as they take out of thoſe of the others, a pound for a pound, a thouſand for a thouſand and a million for a million. Does not this circumſtance contain in itſelf ſuch a contraſt and a contradiction, that it would appear impoſſible to be a point of diſpute; but that at this inſtant treatiſes, addreſſes and I know what are writing in letters of blood, that a great continent is threatened to be laid waſte with fire and with ſword and that the moſt eminent iſland of the whole world is brought to the very brink of being undone upon the ſubject of it? Were it in a common caſe and about a moderate matter, would any one hear or anſwer it with ſerioufneſs? Would to God, that I had yet done. This ſame taxing body have in leſs than ninety years contracted for its own nation a debt of

one hundred and forty millions ſterling or thereabouts beſides vaſt ſums ſpent and raiſed in the mean time. The nation is believed not to have had fair play upon that head; but that particulars were by places, by penſions, by preferments and advantages of various and endleſs ſorts repaid or rewarded for the burthens laid upon them by the public. None will deny or diſpute this; at leaſt unleſs it ſhould be ſome, who beſt know it to be true. Was then the hand of adminiſtration ever ſtronger than at this inſtant? What has happened with reſpect to parliaments not long paſt muſt not the ſame be expected to happen with regard to thoſe ſoon to come; however the perſonal virtue of the individuals compoſing the preſent may be proof againſt ſuch objects? What muſt be the force of this means applied to perſwade men to grant the money of others abroad, when it has had ſuch effects upon them in the caſe of giving and laviſhing their and our own at home? The whole of theſe things being therefore taken together; the original inequality of our elections themſelves, the remote regions in queſtion having nothing to do even with them, the intereſt of the taxing

party

party to load thoſe taxed for the eaſe of themſelves, and a private, but moſt ſtrong influence holding the back hand of all, I will leave it with every one to determine; whether it is wronging this propoſition to reckon it among the abſurdities of the firſt rank ever remembered to have been enforced by the hand or been advanced by the pride of power. How ſhould any ſuch propoſition poſſibly conſiſt with juſtice? Who can ſo diſſolve all ſenſe and reaſon, all right and wrong? Our Parliaments themſelves are undoubtedly within the bounds of human beings. Are they able to ſeparate from exiſtence a deſire of happineſs or can they aboliſh among men the right of ſelf-preſervation? Have they depoſed Providence from the government of the world or when did they wreſt the ſceptre out of the hands of the Almighty? Is then any one ſo full of himſelf as to fancy, that he can with a few ayes or noes at a table of corrupt or of uncorrupt men repeal and annul the general principles and laws of all nature, which not only compaſs and pervade this comparatively ſmall ball of our earth; but whoſe beginning in time paſt or whoſe end in time to come or whoſe extent in

that preſent is every one of them infinitely beyond the very narrow bounds of his little and contemptible conception?

So much for our legiſlative and I deſire now to ſay ſomething concerning our judicial conſtitution. Juries are not only a moſt reaſonable and moſt equitable means of determination in matters of meum and tuum between man and man; but they are likewiſe a very excellent ſafeguard of the general rights of the community againſt the attacks and the attempts of princes, of miniſters or of any other powerful perſons. They repreſent in their province the public, not by election, but as a fair, equal, indifferent part and pattern of the whole. This is the ſenſe and the language of our law and in that meaning it is, that every one ſubmitting to them puts himſelf upon his country. They have in the moſt dangerous and moſt deſperate periods ſtood in the breach and made head againſt our court and its cabinet, when Parliaments were laid aſide and unable to help themſelves. They have then not ſcrupled to preſent and to demand juſtice againſt the ſucceſſor to the throne; which act of theirs the whole nation

nation confirmed by baniſhing notwithſtanding the moſt ſolemn ſtatutes him and his, when he came afterwards himſelf to the crown. They ſheltered at the ſame time, as it were, under the ſhield of Ignoramus the friends and the defenders of the public liberty. All human inſtitutions muſt ever keep an infinite diſtance from every production of nature; but if there is among them ſome one, which bears more the ſemblance of a divine appointment than any other; I believe it to be the democratical part of the Engliſh conſtitution. May heaven long preſerve the whole of it entire and perfect! Being however the offspring of frailty it muſt periſh and I appeal to every one, whether the legiſlative branch of it does not already begin to betray ſtronger proofs of its mortal birth, than the judicial. I don't nevertheleſs preſume from thence to ſay, that it will ſooner come to an abſolute decay and corruption than the other: much leſs will I pretend to point out the day and the date of ſuch a miſchief. I will however ſhew the ſigns, as plainly as the ſun marks the hour of the day upon the dial, by which it may be known; if ſuch an event ſhall ever happen. It may be depended

pended upon, that this caſe is no longer at a diſtance, but to be reckoned among the facts already arrived; whenever private property ſhall be well preſerved between man and man and notwithſtanding any ſuperiority of the rich and the great; but that our princes and their miniſters ſhall be able to take the money out of the pockets of the people at their will and their pleaſure. Another ſtrange appearance in politics and ariſing from one common origin with the former may poſſibly be at the ſame period likewiſe ſeen among us; I mean, every individual free in his perſonal concerns, but a general ruin brought upon all againſt the common ſenſe and conſent of the whole and without their having the means or the power to prevent it. Let us however pray, that theſe things may either never come to paſs or at leaſt very far from our time if that they are already written in the leaves of fate.

Our juries then have before them the great law of nature, which makes a part of the law of our and of every other land; they have our national cuſtoms and ſtatutes and give me leave to add, that they have

have on very high and very extraordinary occaſions likewiſe the conduct of adminiſtrations and of government; which may in ſome ſuch caſes poſſibly afford exceptions, that it is the practice never to expreſs in our acts of parliament nor always in the books of the profeſſion. Should therefore any one anſwering at the bar be ignorant; ſhould his council be backward and baſhful; ſhould even his Judges (which I hardly know how to ſuppoſe) refuſe him the full freedom of ſelf-defence or ſhould he be under any other hardſhip, I will be bold to ſay, that as it is immediately within the province and the power; ſo is it abſolutely a part of the incumbent duty of his jury to remedy and to redreſs in the laſt inſtance all ſuch grievances or ſuch deficiencies. Next to heaven, let us thank and admire the wiſdom of our forefathers. Juries have at moſt to pronounce, but two words and thoſe only by one of themſelves: they muſt be unanimous: a ſingular circumſtance, but no doubt introduced at firſt in favour of life, of liberty and of property: they are for their ſentence accountable to no man, accountable to no man; but unavoidably ſo to that Superior Power, which

protects

protects the happineſs of mankind, which preſcribes to us juſtice for that purpoſe and which will by the conſtant courſe of his eternal laws certainly repay with a due retribution to them and to theirs, all who ſhall perform or ſhall neglect it. Whoever does injuſtice as a judge, acts in an eminent manner againſt himſe. and is at that inſtant preferring ſome other intereſt to his own, however he may be far from intending it at the time. The greateſt concerns of our country come under the deciſion of juries, in many of which theſe do in effect give judgement upon themſelves and upon their children after them. Such muſt be the ſubjects, which are now before us. I am in what is ſaid ſpeaking not of abuſes, but of the true and the genuine conſtitution. It is the worſt abaſement and proſtitution of that almoſt ſacred name to apply or to attribute it to practices, which are its oppoſite and which pervert and deſtroy inſtead of maintaining and of executing it. No ſuch thing however is or can be law againſt the conſtitution. That is, in the ſtate, as the ſun is in the firmament, all miſts and vapours vaniſh before it: however it may by chance and for a time be under a cloud,

it

it neither is nor can be extinguiſhed: practice, uſage, cuſtom muſt all give way, whenever it appears. Maxims and rules of law are on ſuch occaſions not wanting to ſet aſide abuſes nor may the introduction of theſe be difficult to account for; although it might for the ſubject be happy, if that they could always be as readily removed. I declare with truth, that I have not the leaſt meaning towards the reſpectable perſons now preſiding and ſitting upon our benches, in what I am about to ſay; I do not at all look that way; I deſire neither to flatter or to offend; although I think, that the trueſt compliment in my power to pay them is by the writing and the expreſſing my ſentiments with freedom under their protection and I truſt, that it will be ſo received; if that theſe mean words of mine ſhall have the fortune to fall into ſuch honourable hands; but juries ought in political caſes never to be forgetful or unmindful of the general influence, which the crown muſt naturally and neceſſarily have in our courts of juſtice. Men are ever forward enough to conform to the will and the pleaſure of their viſible, whatever they may be to thoſe of their inviſible Maſter

or

or Maker. Juries then are here referred to free and uninfluenced, not picked or packed or partially choſen by the artifice of ſome ſmall officer of a court or of any other perſon, but twelve men of the vicinage fairly and indifferently taken, twelve near neighbours of the fact to be queſtioned and conſidered and who may by that means be probably able to diſtinguiſh between a malignant deſire to diſturb the peace and a meritorious attempt to preſerve the rights and the privileges of the public. Such is, I ſay, our conſtitution in its purity and its perfection and whenever the practice ſhall ſo far deviate from thence, as for this its true nature and eſſence to be loſt, it becomes in thoſe inſtances a miſchief inſtead of a benefit or it remains at beſt an inſignificant form without either virtue or effect. What would it be more, than meer mockery, to preſerve this cuſtom with ſcrupulouſneſs concerning the ſtealing of a horſe or the cutting of a purſe, where there is no apprehenſion of injuſtice; but to over-rule, evade or elude it in the great queſtions of government, when a nation may in a manner and by the means of ſome one man ſtand trial for its firſt rights and intereſts

tereſts and when the neceſſity and the eſſential uſe of ſuch an excellent inſtitution eſpecially take place? Thus then do the legiſlative and the judicial parts of our conſtitution unite and concur in one uniform, congruous, conſonant ſyſtem of the good and the happineſs of the whole purſued and enſured by conſulting the general ſenſe upon the general concerns with reſpect both to the public meaſures and the diſtribution of juſtice; a ſyſtem of conſummate wiſdom and the production probably not of one age or of one people: we received it as a birthright and an inheritance, our obligations for which to our anceſtors will be equalled only by our own baſeneſs, if we do not deliver down the ſame to their and to our poſterity.

Let us on theſe grounds then judge the perſons in queſtion. Empannel a Boſton or a Maſſachuſets jury to try thoſe, whom ſome ſo often affect to term by the name of rebels. *Solventur riſu tabulæ*---They may there be thinking of ſtatues and of pyramids to their honour, while we are pleading about ſcaffolds and gibbets. I ſay then, that this is according to the conſtitution a full and a fair determination

tion of the point in diſpute: the conſtitution itſelf decides the controverſy: you can poſſibly bring theſe men to no conviction upon the conſtitution. When a people ſo numerous, ſo proſperous, poſſeſſed of very large provinces and otherwiſe ſo circumſtanced (as are our countrymen of America) concur on any occaſion of government in an almoſt unanimous refuſal and reſiſtance, it becomes and it behoves miniſters carefully and candidly to examine their own conduct and to new-model or to reverſe meaſures productive of ſuch deſperate and ſuch fatal miſchiefs: ſuch a people have an abſolute right to be ruled with their own conſent, opinion and ſatisfaction. On the ſingle circumſtance of that right then ſtands without comprehending any other the American cauſe as firmly and as immovably, as on a rock; although ſuch other may perhaps be found equally ſtrong: I ſay this, whether we conſider the general law of nature and the neceſſary conſequence of a ſenſation of good and of evil or we go upon the national conſtitution of England either in its legiſlative or its judicial branch or in both united. I preſs this ſubject for the particular purpoſe of bring-

ing

ing to ſome degree of reaſon thoſe, on whom the fate of my country at this inſtant depends: I would on the firſt of theſe grounds however make likewiſe the ſame claim in the name and upon the behalf of mankind, if that it became an inſignificant individual to ſpeak ſuch a language; but I ſay it with a moſt conſummate contempt of all the little, low ridicule or raillery of any baſe ſcribblers; who are ready to bark at the rights of that nature, from which they have received the very paltry talents, whereof they are proud, and who join in the cry for hunting down their country; with whoſe bread and whoſe bounty they are themſelves, but too unworthily fed.

This, may ſay ſome one, is more than the Americans themſelves demand: they contend only concerning taxation and their internal juriſdiction; but this goes to the whole of government. I anſwer, that we had better be put in mind of theſe things among ourſelves; than to be threatened with them by others from abroad. Such is the natural conſequence of our ſtirring dangerous and unneceſſary diſputes about the bounds of power and of obedience.

The Americans well underſtand the rights of mankind and of themſelves and ſo indeed do all the world and will advance them too, when they are oppreſſed and can ſupport them with the ſword. It will be our buſineſs, our greateſt both duty and intereſt to give our countrymen no more cauſe of complaint or of diſcontent; if we ſhall have the fortune to be once again united with them. Experience has proved, that they can find arms and a very little reflection might demonſtrate to us, that they will not want reaſons in their defence; if we act otherwiſe. We ſhall be well off, if we pay on this occaſion no worſe a price for our folly; than to be forced for the future to govern, as men ought to govern and to be governed.

Some other however will poſſibly ſay, that we have a ſurer way of proceeding by a jury, than what is here repreſented; that is to enforce and to extend to America the 35th of H. 8, which with a little ſtretching of the 25th of Edward 3, will ſufficiently anſwer our ends: but this propoſal is neither more or leſs, than that we ſhould ourſelves violate and break through the conſtitution for the ſake of calling

other

other people rebels. Neither however will the ſtatute itſelf bear fairly ſuch a conſtruction. Words are only ſigns of the thoughts and the ideas exiſting in the minds of men nor are they to be otherwiſe interpreted. They can on no occaſion be conſiſtently with juſtice extended beyond what was at the time the ſenſe and the meaning of the perſons employing them. This is a conſtant maxim and principle in the common proceedings of men with one another, of bodies with bodies and of individuals with individuals. No faith or confidence could on any other terms obtain among us in our ordinary and our daily dealings; but diſcourſe and language would inſtead of the happy means of our mutual commerce and intercourſe be no better than a ſnare, a trap or a pitfall. Our anceſtors did at the time of paſſing the act in queſtion no more think of a people bearing a great proportion to ourſelves in their numbers and far exceeding us in the extent of their territories, removed at a vaſt diſtance from us, wonderfully unanimous among themſelves and I am notwithſtanding ſome late compliments and addreſſes perſwaded, that any one may moſt truly add, concurred

with by very much the majority of the nation at home and contending upon the general right of taxation or upon any other, I ſay, that they thought no more of ſuch circumſtances, than of a new heaven and a new earth. Theſe provinces of America were then undiſcovered and unknown. This act of parliament does not execute itſelf by internal proviſions of its own: it is entruſted with the adminiſtration for the time being; not however as an inſtrument of paſſion, of malice, of revenge; but to be put in uſe on particular occaſions according to the true intent and meaning with which it was enacted and on no other account. The very inhumanity and unreaſonableneſs of bringing perſons three thouſand miles from the ſcene of the fact, from their friends and their witneſſes and then trying them in a ſtrange land for their lives do at firſt ſight ſufficiently demonſtrate; that it can only be ſome ſtrained or ſome perverted law, on which it is poſſible to found ſo unfit a proceeding. Laws are meant and made for far other purpoſes or they are but ill employed, who paſs them.

Suppoſe however an American dragged before one of our courts of juſtice and holding

holding up his hand at the bar. It would both for its merits and its importance be a moſt extraordinary trial. A whole people would through one perſon be abſolved or be condemned in their conduct; all America would be determined to be in rebellion or under oppreſſion. The deciſion might much contribute to continuing in ſome degree the ancient union between them and us or to divide and to diſſever the chain; ſo as never to be again joined and united. The juſt and the upright judgment of a jury given in the face of the public might perhaps have an effect upon the madneſs of ſome men; which nothing has hitherto been able to check or to reſtrain. No one knows, how far the fate of our country or the welfare of each individual might be involved in the event. The jury would have before them the whole merits of the cauſe and the quarrel, in which the perſon accuſed was engaged and from whence the particular fact charged upon him muſt take its ſtamp: his laſt reſource and redreſs or his laſt ſentence and condemnation would be in them. I will enter no more into that matter; but the eyes of Great-Britain, of Ireland, of America and of other parts of the world would be upon

them and the inviſible hand of the ever-ruling Power be over their heads nor might it probably be long; before that the due conſequences of their good or their evil conduct would follow and be felt by them and by theirs. I don't however think; that things will come to ſuch extremities: theſe would produce repriſals. That circumſtance may bid fair to prevail; where reaſon and juſtice might have failed: it will probably ſpare all the trouble of the judge and the jury, of the heads-man or the hangman.

It is then ſo far from holding good, what is ſometimes ſaid; that there can be no reaſon or conſiſtency in the doctrine of its never being lawful to diſobey or to reſiſt in the caſe of an act of parliament on any occaſion or on any ſuppoſition whatſoever; that the ſtumbling blocks and the difficulties not to be ſurmounted do certainly lie on the other ſide. I do not mean to affirm; whether or no it is impoſſible to lay down in general a conſiſtent ſyſtem of deſpotiſm, conſiſtent with itſelf; but incompatible with every thing beſides, with liberty, with property, with ſcience, with happineſs, with virtue,

virtue, with every thing good or great among men and give me leave to ſay, likewiſe with the benevolence of Providence and the whole apparent form of our world. This however muſt then be in Utopia, in ſome unknown or diſtant land: even that cannot be done with reſpect to Great-Britain, the ſcene of our preſent queſtion; where are certain laws, certain ſtatutes, Magna Charta and others, certain facts, certain points of hiſtory, the Revolution eſpecially, which muſt be ſupported and be defended: inſomuch that whoever proceeds on that ground in our country, cannot but ſet his foot on contradiction and abſurdity, every ſtep that he takes. No doctrine can with us wreſt from the people their privileges; which will not equally pluck the ſceptre out of the hands of the prince. It is not unpleaſant to obſerve how gently and how tenderly ſome even truly-learned and ingenious writers embarraſſed by their own principles touch the ſubject of the Revolution, when it lies in their way and is not to be avoided. We are *by no means to inquire into the reaſons of it any further, than for inſtructive amuſement and ſpeculation; it may be of dangerous conſequence for us to put ourſelves*

in the place of our anceſtors or to concern our conſciences about its rectitude; it was an intirely new caſe in politicks and in our hiſtory and its true ground was the abdication of King James; whereas the principles of Mr. Locke, would have levelled all diſtinctions, have repealed all poſitive laws and have reduced the ſociety almoſt to a ſtate of nature. We are likewiſe plainly enough given to underſtand; that the ſentiments of him and of our two other eminent patriots and writers in politicks Milton and Sydney are at the bottom much the ſame with thoſe of Wat Tyler or Jack Cade; however they may be expreſſed in a more polite language or dreſſed in a more gentlemanlike garb.* But does then any one ſeriouſly mean

* Blackſtone b. 1, c. 3. The true ground and principle upon which that memorable event proceeded, was an intirely new caſe in politicks, which had never before happened in our hiſtory; the abdication of the reigning King and the vacancy of the throne thereupon. . . . . The reaſons upon which they [our anceſtors] decided may be found at large in the Parliamentary Proceedings of thoſe times and may be matter of inſtructive amuſement for us to contemplate, as a ſpeculative point of hiſtory; but care muſt be taken not to carry this inquiry further than merely for inſtruction and amuſement. The idea, that the conſciences of poſterity were concerned in the rectitude of their anceſtors deciſions gave birth to thoſe dangerous political hereſies, which ſo long diſtracted the ſtate. . . . . The principles of

mean to ſay; that King James would have been ſuffered to reign again, if he had ſtaid at Whitehall or at Rocheſter or at Feverſham or the expulſion of that prince to have been unlawful and the eſtabliſhment of King William an uſurpation; if the Revolution cannot be defended on the ground of abdication? Had not the Revolution been perpetually ripening from the time of the Excluſion Bill; until the period in which it took place? The King did not quit his palace until the Prince of Orange was arrived near Henley. I wonder by what law his Highneſs marched ſo far or he was afterwards preferred on the throne before his own Queen and Queen Anne; I mean, except by that of the common conſent founded on the common good? It ought for the honour of our nation ever to be remembered, how unanimous an act

---

of Mr. Locke, which would have reduced the ſociety almoſt to a ſtate of nature, would have levelled all diſtinctions of honour, rank, offices and property . . . and have repealed all poſitive laws.——Ditto, b. 4, c. 33. Our anceſtors heard with deteſtation and horror theſe ſentiments rudely delivered and puſhed to moſt abſurd extremes by the violence of a Cade and a Tyler; which have ſince been applauded with a zeal almoſt riſing to idolatry; when ſoftened and recommended by the eloquence, the moderation and the arguments of a Sydney, a Locke and a Milton.

act that great event was: a drop of blood was not ſpilt nor a head broken, if I may ſay ſo, on the occaſion throughout our whole iſland: the profits of ſome from it might be and were much more than thoſe of others; but the conſent and the concurrence and conſequently the merit of all according to their rank was alike and equal from the children of the King down to almoſt the meaneſt ſubject: the deed was in effect done, I will not ſay only, before that the King went away from Whitehall or that there was any ſuch notable pretence for abdication; but before that the Prince of Orange landed in England or that he ſet ſail from Holland. The whole queſtion and introduction of that word Abdication is perfectly well known to have been only a comedy acted between the leaders of parties at the time; that the new conduct might appear to ſquare with the old principles of ſome of them. The ſetting forth a *breach of the original contract between King and people and an endeavour to overturn the fundamental laws* and to make theſe a part of abdication, as was then done; what was it but for the ſame purpoſe a public and a legiſlative perverſion of the Engliſh languge, an improper application

application of that term inſtead of Forfeiture on the moſt ſolemn ſubject? How many Kings of Europe have at that rate abdicated their thrones; who never dream but of maintaining and of magnifying them? As to grounding this circumſtance on the going away of one, whoſe father had loſt his head on a ſcaffold by ſtaying, I ſhall only obſerve; that however the Earl of Warwick might be ſomewhat of a ſoldier, he was but little of a lawyer not to think of the abdication of Edw. 4th; when he had driven him from his kingdom. The parliament or pretended parliament of ſixteen hundred and forty did not much mind ſuch ceremonies; it is therefore leſs ſurpriſing, that they did not trouble themſelves about the abdication of King Charles the 2d after the battle of Worceſter. We ſurely ought on ſuch ſubjects to write and to reaſon, as becomes men; they who are maſters and capable of performing it, when they pleaſe. I don't mean, that paſſages of a different purport may not be produced out of the ſame well-written book; but they ſound in ignorant ears very like to contradiction. How can it agree to affect extolling the fact of the Revolution; but to condemn

or to decry the principles on which the nation in general undoubtedly acted and proceeded, when they brought it about? Little did this writer think twenty years ago to see in our nation the neceſſity and much leſs to have ever the perſonal honour of ſaying to the public one ſingle word in ſupport of ſuch names; as Milton, Sydney and Locke. He does no way mean; that the principles of theſe perſons or in his poor opinion of the Revolution itſelf are not juſt as open to be queſtioned and to be canvaſſed, as thoſe of any other men or other fact; for what has truth to demand or to deſire, but a fair diſcuſſion? So however is likewiſe the defence of them ſurely full as free againſt any living authority whatſoever. We are often told of the protection, which a people receive from their prince; but we are rarely reminded of that, which they confer upon him. It is however the public, that truly ſupport the Revolution upon its real principles and who never obſerve without impatience either the one or the other to be diſreſpected or depreciated: they are ſenſible of theſe being the beſt barrier and ſecurity both of the ſubject and the prince. I do not mean applying the following reflections

flections to the reſpectable perſon, unto whoſe expreſſions I have before preſumed to refer; but *video equum ephippiatum*---- as has on other occaſions been ſaid. The horſe ſeems to be ready ſaddled and bridled: it may not be difficult to diſcern, what might happen; if it was not for this temper of the people. Who knows how ſoon we ſhould otherwiſe ſee a right of poſſeſſion raiſed up and the poor Revolution left to ſhift for itſelf; by ſome who have reaſon to be its firmeſt and its moſt grateful friends. How ſtrange would it appear to any one unpractiſed and unexperienced in the arts of courts, if he ſhould be told; that it may in ſome future time be the way of becoming a good courtier to profeſs the principles of a doubtful ſubject and the means of teſtifying loyalty towards a King to advance doctrines claſhing or inconſiſtent with the title, by which he wears his crown?

There is a point reſpecting ſenates, legiſlatures and other aſſemblies of that ſort, which I have reſerved by itſelf, becauſe that it does not relate to the preſent inſtant, although it may much concern thoſe to come after us; who will perhaps

perhaps be in that regard under circumſtances utterly unlike our own and for which reaſon I ſhall preſume to ſay ſomething upon it. Did then the laws of nature, the conſtitution of our country, the charters of the colonies all unanimouſly conſpire and concur after the ſtrongeſt and the plaineſt manner in ſubjecting America to the taxation of a Britiſh Parliament; this would and could only be meant of a true Parliament, of a Parliament both in word and in deed, of a free Parliament, free from corruption and from pecuniary influence, as well as from force and from violence. Should at ſome future time therefore the perſon placed in commiſſion for the common good at the helm of the public bend and employ to the purpoſe of gaining, of leading, of influencing, of corrupting the members of our national aſſemblies all the prodigious power of the crown, by the civil liſt, the army, the navy, the church, the law, the cuſtoms, the exciſe, by our companies, by public contracts, by what are ſometimes called honours and by innumerable other means, in Great-Britain, in Ireland, in North-America, in the Weſt-Indies and the Eaſt and ſhould he through ſo many

many ſtrong temptations applied to the virtue of a few hundreds of frail men obtain unhappily his end; I aſk then, whether any juriſdiction, any authority, any claim before-mentioned, however iſſuing from the higheſt and the moſt ſacred ſources, would belong or appertain to this falſe, this figurative, this nominal, this venal parliament any more; than it would to the divan of Conſtantinople, the conclave of Rome, the houſhold of the King or the menial family of the Miniſter himſelf? How does the want of liberty in ſuch an aſſembly itſelf conſiſt with its right of command over others? Are not powers of the nature with that here ſpoken of entruſted in confidence and on condition only of their being duly and faithfully diſcharged? Does it make any difference to the conſtituents, whether their repreſentative body is turned from its duty by the more open and more avowed force of arms or by the baſer, but no leſs effectual influence of corruption? What matter is it to them; whether it be the metal of gold or of iron, which is employed for that purpoſe? Either the one or the other equally cuts the chain and the connection between them. Would the reſolutions of

a ſenate

a ſenate ſo circumſtanced be its own ſenſe, its addreſſes its own language, its ſtatutes its own acts or thoſe of the miniſter; by whom it was guided and governed and from whom they proceeded? Would not in that caſe the miniſter ſpeak from the throne, the miniſter anſwer from the houſe, the miniſter enact, the miniſter execute; the right hand and the left hand of the miniſter be perpetually playing backwards and forwards the ſame ball to one another? The prudent and the proper part of Great-Britain muſt in ſuch an exigency be patience, moderation and ſubmiſſion; to expect in peace a prince better informed, a more independent and more conſtitutional repreſentative or other gentle and benignant relief from the goodneſs of Providence. Great-Britain would be under the immediate hand of power: the bridle might be in its mouth and the ſaddle on its back. A miniſter however would perhaps find tougher work on the other ſide of the Atlantic: the means, and the inſtruments of his influence would be at three thouſand miles diſtance from thence or very ſlightly ſcattered throughout that vaſt country. Should then ſuch a one not content witn having

at

at his feet Great-Britain, Ireland, our prodigious poſſeſſions in the Eaſt-Indies and our rich iſlands in the Weſt and inſtead of pitying the ſtate of the public throw through an ambitious deſire and an inconſiderate eagerneſs to extend the ſame abſolute ſway over the continent of America the whole into an utter diſtraction and confuſion totally ungovernable by himſelf; who could but be ſtruck with admiration of the manner, in which the paſſions, the vices and the follies of men are puniſhed by the very means of their own effects and conſequences? But let us avert our views from this melancholy ſcene bleſſing ourſelves; that however any one may fancy himſelf to ſee ſome reſemblance of the latter, the former part of it is very different from any thing paſſing in our days or before our own eyes.

But it may be aſked; what are theſe laws of Nature, which are thus oppoſed to the poſitive ſtatutes of a prince or a ſtate; where are their ſanctions, their rewards and their puniſhments? Can a French cook ſerve a dinner by the fitneſs of things or will their eternal relations

furniſh our houſes or pay our equipages? Are we to part with our places and our penſions only to poſſeſs theorems and ſyſtems? I anſwer, that I have no ſuch meaning; I underſtand much better to whom I am talking. I am fully ſenſible; that the love of mankind and of our country, the regard and the affection of good men in return, an honeſt ambition of a fair name together with many other conſiderations of the ſame ſort are by ſome people held, as unworthy and below the notice of a wiſe man. I cannot perſwade myſelf to be of the ſame ſentiment. I refer however here to the moſt ſubſtantial good and evil; although not always obſerved or attended to, before that it is too late and that it happens. Examples might eaſily be produced of ſtateſmen, of churchmen and of gownſmen in times paſt; of Strafford, of Laud, of Jefferies and of others; who little thought of the miſchiefs, which they were bringing upon their maſters and how ſoon they ſhould pay their own forfeit on a ſcaffold or in a priſon; until that theſe events themſelves took effect. Any one might perhaps approach nearer and name another Judge, whoſe

whoſe evil and fatal counſels had no ſmall ſhare in firſt ſhaking the throne; which the violence of Jefferies afterwards overthrew. The deſcendant of ſuch an anceſtor might be adviſed well to beware, leſt meaſures formed upon the ſame plan and founded upon the ſame principles may in our days likewiſe be productive of ſome ſimilar or ſome correſpondent cataſtrophe, ſo far ſimilar or correſpondent as the general circumſtances of each period will permit. To paſs by however ſuch old ſtories and let the turn of any particular time be what it will; I ſay, that the evils following the offences againſt this univerſal law are ſo far from being only the inventions of fancy, from being doubtful or in the preſent caſe diſtant; that they appear now to be near at hand and that no one knows; in how ſhort a time our rulers, our leaders and we ourſelves ſhall all feel at leaſt our own full ſhare of them. The conduct of Providence comprehends a cycle far beyond the conception of man. We appear inſtead of being able to avoid the neceſſary conſequences of our own actions not free from danger of ſuffering the evil effects ariſing from miſ-

chiefs firſt begun in the days of our fore-fathers; I mean, unleſs that we ſhall prevent them by an inſtant alteration of our courſe; but of which there appears by far too little likelihood. Our government has ever ſince the Revolution been ſapping and undermining by corruption. This once noble fabric built up by our anceſtors and the work of many ages might nevertheleſs have probably been upheld and repaired, might for ſucceeding generations have continued affording ſhelter and ſafety to its numerous innabitants by the means of a proper prudence and foreſight in thoſe; to whom the care and the guardianſhip of it are confided. But the blind Sampſons of our ſtate have on the contrary themſelves ſet their ſhoulders againſt its props and its ſupports and are pulling down the whole pile on our heads and their own: the pillars already tremble, the walls give way, the roof divides and we bid fair to be buried under the ruins; before that theſe frantic miniſters ſhall recover any ſhare of their reaſon. What prodigies do we expect; that beaſts ſhould ſpeak, that men ſhould be ſeen fighting in the air, that the heavens ſhould drop blood or that graves ſhould open and give

up

up their dead? Is it imagined, that Jeruſalem had ever more ſigns of her ruin; than Britain has at this moment of its own? Reaſon, experience, facts, events all oppoſe our proceedings and point towards the gulph, into which we are going. But to what end ſerves any admonition of God or of man? Every warning, every notice, every diſcouragement and miſcarriage prove only the cauſe of ſome new and further meaſure more extravagant, more ruinous, more wild, more mad than that, which went before. The whole will certainly ſuffer and be overwhelmed; but do the authors of theſe things expect to remain themſelves ſafe and exempt in the midſt of univerſal miſchief or that they ſhall not be cruſhed in the common confuſion of their own creating; even if the nation itſelf ſhould be ſo far ſunk and weakened, as in its own capacity to think of no vengeance nor to demand any account at their hands?

It may however be further aſked on this ſubject; if then theſe things are in truth any other than only pretended terrors in the air; why do not men more mind them nor the ambitious and the powerful

powerful be perpetually purſuing wrong and rapine without apprehenſion? I anſwer, that this is exactly the ſame caſe with reſpect to human and to apparent inſtruments of puniſhment. How many a man commits robbery or murder while his fellow is hanging upon a gibbet over his head? Offenders are continually caught in the fact before a court of juſtice and the face of a judge. The tranſported felon returns unlawfully to his country one day and to his former practices the next. It does not however follow from thence, that there are no civil laws or civil penalties nor that theſe perſons do not in the end feel and ſuffer by them. Fortune determines the firſt ſtation of every man. Suppoſe therefore theſe ſame people born in palaces and bred in purple. They would have been nurſed and, as it were, fed with flattery inſtead of eating the bread of miſery and of penury. Their ſituation would have ſecured them from their preſent temptations and perils. Might not they then have inherited many crowns and kingdoms in Europe and out of it? Why could not they in a rank rather lower have become hereditary or elective legiſlators? Many of theſe unhappy men do not want

want parts or talents. Schooled, taught and called might none of them have come to ſit upon benches and, I dare be bound that it will only move the mirth of ſome very reſpectable perſons, if theſe queſtions ſhould be puſhed even ſo far as to aſk; whether they might not in ſuch a caſe and in former times have by the help of a little more tranſpoſition poſſibly hanged thoſe, who in the actual courſe of things have hanged them? Education, circumſtances, ſituation do wonderfully vary our outward drapery and the particular objects of our purſuit; but they do not perhaps ſo much alter our inward form and faſhion or the turn and the temper of our minds. However unwelcome a maxim it may ſometimes be; human nature is in all conditions ever underſtood to be at the bottom much the ſame. If we do not therefore ſuffer ourſelves to be impoſed upon by the reverence of robes nor to be fooled with the fancy of ribbands nor to be dazzled with the ſplendor of crowns and of coronets; it will not be an hour's wonder with us, that the laws and the puniſhments of nature are by the high and the great often overlooked and neglected; although the firſt are eternal and univerſal and the latter are moſt juſt

and

and that it will be well; if we do not by our own experience ſoon find them to be alſo heavy and unavoidable.

I have one more word to ſay upon my preſent ſubject, which is; who have made the Americans rebels, if they are ſuch? How long is it ſince that weſtern world was in peace, in ſubmiſſion, in obedience; when the wild, the wanton, the unjuſt and the abſurd attempt to tax them at Weſtminſter put at once into diſorder that whole continent? What a medley has there been ſince that time of odious and impolitic bills, of arbitrary alterations of charters, of deſpotic plans of government, of cruel ſchemes of reſentment, of harſh and unbecoming language, of proud and contemptuous rejections of application? Rapaciouſneſs begun, oppreſſion followed, violence ſupported and contumely added inſult to all the reſt; inſomuch that we have by theſe means and theſe meaſures ſo haſtened and ſo heaped on one another atchieved the revolt of thirteen provinces and perhaps the loſs of more in almoſt as little time, as a man can tell ten. When ſome people ſound forth the pretended offences of our brethren abroad;

one

one would almoſt expect that the force of truth ſhould oblige them to add; that they have themſelves been the cauſe of all the miſchiefs, of which they are complaining. But ſay ſome; the American plan now begins to open and they are ſetting up independent republics among themſelves. It is however a certain truth, that they intended and endeavoured no ſuch thing three years ago: it appears likewiſe true, that they now propoſe it or that they will probably do ſo very ſoon. What is then the reaſon or the occaſion of this great and ſudden difference in ſuch eſſential affairs? As truly and as ſurely our own conduct and management or rather that of our miniſters. Rage, malice and revenge are now bringing up the rear of all the preceding righteous train and are intended to give the final blow; but it will be very contrary to the common courſe of things; if that theſe paſſions do not in the end turn upon their own maſters, who reſign to them the reins of their conduct and who make them the guides of their actions againſt others. May heaven however preſerve this poor nation from being the victim and the ſacrifice on ſo unfit an occaſion!

So

So much upon the head of rebellion; but ſome new arguments ſeem to be introduced on the general matter; at leaſt ſince that this writer preſumed laſt to trouble the public upon the ſubject of our American diſputes. The miniſter himſelf is ſaid to have advanced; that this ſingle iſland paying yearly in taxes at leaſt ten millions ſterling and a dozen of our colonies together not one hundred thouſand pounds it is fit and proper, that we ſhould add to their proportion. I muſt confeſs myſelf pleaſed, that certain men begin at length to ſignify ſome ſenſe of the load and the incumbrances lying upon this nation: it is to be hoped; that they may in time proceed to the intention of lightening and of leſſening them. But what an expedient for that purpoſe is the preſent of an American civil war! May it rather be ever the lot of our enemies to alleviate their burthens and to eaſe their diſtreſſes in ſuch a manner and by ſuch methods! My anſwer however is on this occaſion; that no reaſon can demonſtrate the right of Great-Britain to tax America or of America to tax Great-Britain; but that it would on thoſe grounds follow, not that we ought to perform that good office for them; but

that

that they ſhould do it for us and that all England would ſay amen, if the point of one taxing the other was proved between us. Suppoſe on the one hand a very rich man to ſquander his all and to run himſelf exceedingly into debt, more than he or his can poſſibly expect to diſcharge. Suppoſe on the other ſide one of moderate means paying to all their own and ſaving for himſelf and his family: would you in that caſe make the richer prodigal or the poorer prudent perſon the ſteward for them both? What man in Britain apprehends, that our ſtate would be more indebted, than it now is; if the aſſemblies or a congreſs of our colonies had inſtead of our own parliaments taxed us from the Revolution to this day? But what would at the preſent inſtant be the condition of the poor people with whom we are on this ſubject at war, if the reverſe had been the caſe? I don't know, with what to compare ſuch a propoſition; except with the idle talk of ſchool-boys at their dinners; that he who has done firſt ſhould help his neighbour. We may perhaps be here put in mind of our protection, our protection not to be put in compariſon with that of a contemptible colony and that people ought

ought ever to remember the abundance of protection received in return for the demands made upon them. I believe however; that ill-managed ſtates have ſeldom much to boaſt of on that ſubject. The general bad conduct of a private man's affairs may commonly be diſcerned in the domeſtic diſorder of his houſhold. It is delivered down to us as a proof of the good government of King Alfred; that a maiden bearing a purſe of money in her hand might in his reign have gone from one end of the kingdom to the other without fear of violence either to her perſon or her property. How is it with us? Can a man almoſt ſleep in his bed within the walls of our metropolis or travel on the King's high-road with ſafety and with ſecurity? Have we not among us more capital condemnations and executions, than all Europe beſides? Does nevertheleſs any one believe, that our people have in them a native iniquity or an original profligacy, beyond what there is in the reſt of mankind? Are not in truth and at the bottom the accurſed taxes and the inſupportable burthens of our country a conſiderable cauſe of the rapines, the robberies, the frauds, the forgeries and other offences of the

the ſame ſort now rife and reigning among us? I would for the honour of human nature willingly carry this reaſoning ſo far; as to account in ſome meaſure by the ſame means even for the venality and the proſtitution obtaining at this time among the great and the qualified themſelves. We are notwithſtanding told; that taxation is no tyranny; but I cannot conceive, in what corner of this kingdom, that expreſſion could be picked up. It ſurely becomes any one uſing ſuch diſcourſe to explain; for what he pays taxes beſides the produce of a place or a penſion: leſt it ſhould look like the licentious language of ſome bold beggar in the ſtreets pretending to wonder; that the owner of a houſe was alarmed at its being in flames, whereas he himſelf warmed his fingers very comfortably at the fire. Protection and expence however do not go hand in hand in government: experience proves, that the rule ought rather to be reverſed. Let any one look around the world and frugal, œconomical ſtates maintained at a ſmall charge and with a tenderneſs towards the property of the ſubject will almoſt ever be found moſt diſtinguiſhable for a peaceable diſpoſition and an obedience to the laws

laws in their people at home; as well as the leaſt diſturbed by the inſults and the attacks of their enemies abroad. Conſider our plantations the objects of our preſent compariſon and into which we perpetually empty our jails, as into a jacques: are nevertheleſs to be ſeen there ſuch ſure marks of miſ-rule and miſ-government? It may look like much too ludicrous a queſtion on ſo truly and exceedingly ſerious a ſubject; but might not in moſt countries as good a king be had for a thouſand pounds a year and without putting up their regencies to auction, as any now known to reign, I mean, excepting our own? How many a people in Europe would at leaſt think themſelves moſt happy to have the experiment tried in their own ſtate? Nolo regnare is a new language and to be as yet learned among men. There is an expreſſion of the ſame ſort ſaid ſometimes to fall from a reverend profeſſion and yet how very worthily and let me add not very unwillingly is a certain honourable bench conſtantly filled? Inſomuch that were as many more wanted, their places might poſſibly be ſupplied; although not equally well. Would to God therefore that high duties and taxes,

heavy

heavy preſſures and burthens were in a nation; but half as ſure a ſign of protection and of ſecurity, as they are of corruption and of venality and I know a kingdom (to which the writer wiſhes moſt extremely well) that might bid full defiance to all its foes without and through which Alfred's maiden might within travel as ſafely in our days, as ever ſhe did in his. Let however ſome men inſtead of deſpiſing, ſuſpending, overturning the aſſemblies and the legiſlatures of our colonies rather think in what reſpects to copy and to imitate governments ſo much better adminiſtered than their own: let them try an other time to find ſome more ſtriking reaſon for taking their domeſtic taxation out of their hands into ours, than their diſcretion and our own extravagance.

Here I quit then this new argument; that we ought to tax our colonies, becauſe we do that matter ſo very imprudently for ourſelves. It is likewiſe reported to have been flung out from the ſame quarter; that our wars have ever ſince the Revolution been the wars and that our debt is therefore in conſequence the debt not of our miniſters, but of our people.

This

This may appear rather to relate to the part of our nation reſident in England or in Britain, than to thoſe in America: as it ſeems however meant to throw the occaſion of our actual neceſſities and rapaciouſneſs on the whole collective community and as I verily believe the preſent diſpute to be the general cauſe and concern of all the members of our great empire againſt a handful of over-bearing men and alſo the fact itſelf to be totally different from what is ſo repreſented; I deſire to ſay ſomething on the ſubject. The whole pretence is plainly and totally groundleſs. There is in all the domeſtic hiſtory of our country nothing more notorious, than how much our adminiſtrations have ever ſince the Revolution been conſtantly maſters and unreſtrained. Whatever picqueering there might in the time of King William be between the two ancient parties or between individuals deſirous to be at the head; that matter was always ordered in the cabinet by ſhuffling and cutting or balancing between whig and tory and tory and whig. For how very ſmall a part did the body of the people or their inclinations or their intereſts ever enter into government; after that the great

great event of the Revolution itſelf effected through them was to the minds of a few leading men once ſettled and regulated. It is well known how in the reign of Queen Anne one ſet of miniſters made war and another ſet made peace at their pleaſure and how their reſpective parliaments backed them both. Different parliaments did then contradict one another; but there has ſince been an improvement made upon that practice; for the ſame parliament has on a change of miniſters and of meaſures not ſcrupled readily and directly to contradict itſelf. The power of the crown and of thoſe appointed by it has from theſe periods been continually increaſing until the preſent time; if there was between thirty and forty years ago in the reign of King George the 2d once a momentary appearance of an independent majority it paſſed away in an inſtant like a flaſh of lightning. The honour and the merit are no doubt to be attributed to our adminiſtrations; if that the nation has from the beginning of the reign of King William been ſtrengthened, inriched and improved, more than might naturally have been expected in a courſe of near ninety years: but to whom then

belong the guilt and the diſgrace; if that it is on the contrary ſince that time weakened, beggared and undone? Theſe things are in general; but let me be ſuffered to ſay a word concerning our wars themſelves. Whoever has heard of the name of King William knows; that an oppoſition to France was his ruling paſſion. He firſt led us into Flanders and into Germany; where ſo much of the precious blood and treaſure of this nation has ſince been ſpent. There was ſome ground of gratitude towards him; but our obligations ſhould have been paid in a more prudent manner and that was in a good degree perhaps then already done by the gift of the crown. He dying left us at his deceaſe the legacy of a French war. Queen Anne and her counſellors adminiſtered; but what was the public better than betrayed by our being again led againſt the almoſt impregnable cities and fortifications of Flanders? Our nation was then in its vigour: the Spaniſh Indies, Mexico, Peru, Manilla and the reſt of thoſe rich regions were open to us almoſt without defence. What it was probably in our power to have then done upon that ground; if we had to the utmoſt availed ourſelves of our fleet, as we might

might and as we ought; the events of the laſt war ſufficiently teſtify. Our conqueſts there were beſides to have by treaty belonged to us: whereas we bargained for nothing upon the continent of Europe except to expend our men and our money. Our next war was ſoon after the acceſſion of King George the firſt; when Bremen and Verden extended their influence into the Mediterranean and involved us in hoſtilities with Spain. That court accepted of peace through force: the Emperor profited by it: the evil of the war all fell on ourſelves. The Spaniards long remembered and reſented our conduct on that occaſion; if they have at this day forgotten it. From thence proceeded their many inſults, injuries and depredations; which produced the laſt war but one forced upon us by thoſe means in defence of our commerce and called for by our merchants on that account and under thoſe circumſtances. This has been our only neceſſary war ſince the Revolution nor was any one of the three former entered into even upon the ſubject of our own intereſts. The miſchief of this meaſure was firſt in the miſerable management and then in a French war brought on by our

German campaigns and German measures in the middle of it and which was even worse conducted and made by that means yet a greater grievance than the other. There remains to be mentioned only the late war. I wonder, who called for that? Not the Americans. Some men could at that time not sleep in their beds and in peace for want of a war with France to amuse them, when they were waking. There were then forward; who are said to have now been not backward in pressing and in recommending the present American mischief. The French built castles, but had no numbers of inhabitants in America; hardly a hundred thousand men, women and children; when we took Canada. Our people on the contrary multiplied in a prodigious proportion; but did not much trouble themselves about building castles. I wonder; whether that the castles were in the end most likely to take the men or the men to take the castles or why our Americans might not have been left to judge; when was the season to settle with the sword the bounds between themselves and their neighbours on that vast continent; as would probably one day be done; but the more in all appearance to our advantage,

vantage, the longer that it was deferred. We armed however, as it were, in ſilence: the nation was ſuddenly engaged in hoſtilities and in repriſals. So much for our adventures in the fields of Mars; but what neceſſary connection have leſs than half a dozen wars with a debt of one hundred and forty millions ſterling? Do not we read and hear of wars throughout our whole hiſtory? Our anceſtors have ſeated their King on the throne of France. The reign of Queen Elizabeth was almoſt a continued ſcene of war. She is well known to have nevertheleſs refuſed in the mean time the money offered by her people. King Charles the firſt was not without foreign war. The mock commonwealth waged war. Cromwell to be the more like a King would have his war. Had not we ſeveral wars under Charles the ſecond? But there was with all theſe things no national debt at the revolution; hardly of a ſingle ſhilling. This immenſe fabric and ſyſtem of our funds has all been raiſed ſince that time; a ſtructure never equalled in the world of its kind; a building that may in its conſequences cauſe more and worſe confuſion; than ever did Babel: although after a different manner.

Our common income raiſed on the public and without reckoning the collection is by this means now mounted to between ten and eleven millions ſterling annually. The whole of this immenſe edifice are our wiſe miniſters at this moment undermining and going by their trains to blow up into the air and if I may ſo expreſs myſelf about the ears of themſelves, of us and of all Europe. Providence was by a long interval of peace pleaſed to afford us an opportunity of ſo new modelling the ſyſtem of our taxes, our revenue and our trade; as that we might have ſtood under our prodigious burthen and perhaps have in time leſſened or diſcharged it. That ſeaſon is now paſſed in vain and we ſhall in all appearance never have ſuch another: a proper plan for that purpoſe could never enter into breaſts ſuſceptible of our preſent moſt extravagant ſchemes: far other counſels, very different conceptions were required for that end. It is always ſuſpicious, that ſomething is bad at the bottom; when miniſters endeavour to ſhift upon the ſhoulders of the people meaſures or events; which they are at all times exceedingly unwilling to ſuffer them to have any real ſhare in the form-

ing or the producing. Let however ſome men at leaſt conſider the extreme importance and conſequence of our preſent incumbrances now that they are brought upon us and do ſubſiſt; by whatever means, theſe things have happened: let them well reflect; that whoſeſoever was the debt, theirs will be the bankruptcy; if they ſhall drive us into one.

It will hardly fail of being here aſked, whether all adminiſtrations ſince the Revolution are included in theſe obſervations and particularly, whether there is any exception kept for the noble Lord; who conducted a conſiderable part of the late war. I anſwer; that as long as the health of that noble perſon will permit him to pay any attention to the buſineſs of the public; ſo long will in any extraordinary or difficult conjuncture his country certainly caſt their eyes towards him. His Lordſhip is ſaid to have on this occaſion been not wanting to offer his advice and his aſſiſtance in his ſituation, as one of the legiſlature and the great council of the nation. A very reſpectable aſſembly of America have declared, that the propoſitions thrown out by his Lordſhip might

might united with thoſe of the continental congreſs be made to ſerve for the baſis or the beginning of a treaty of accommodation. The conduct of the noble Lord, as a miniſter, has therefore not only a relation to the paſt and the general concerns; but likewiſe a connexion with this preſent and this eſpecial exigency of our country. Every public perſon ſubmits of courſe his actions to the examination and the opinion of the whole; who are warranted to canvaſs them with freedom; ſo far as their own welfare, their good or their evil is or has been affected by them. I don't know; that his Lordſhip was an active adviſer of the laſt war; that did not at leaſt appear in public. It was however begun with other counſels and thoſe very unlike his Lordſhip's. What campaigns in Germany and in America and what neglect of the Mediterranean and of Minorca! Let us draw the viel over thoſe diſgraces. The nation ſenſible of its ſituation crouched under the apprehenſions of a foreign invaſion. Our miniſters for the time being however had happily ſo much wit at leaſt, as to perceive their own weakneſs and their want of aſſiſtance. When the counſels of Providence

dence and the courſe of events are fully ripe for the ruin of a people; theſe fall under the government of men equally blind to all outward circumſtances and to their own inſufficiency; but that moment was with us not then come. In this ſtate and condition of the public Lord Chatham was called to the helm. How ſudden and how glorious a change for this country then took place; I ſhall leave for our hiſtory to tell; to tell perhaps, after that the government itſelf of Great-Britain ſhall be no more; which period however let us hope to be very far removed; much farther than ſome ſigns ſeem at preſent to threaten and to forewarn. It would be impertinent to repeat here the long and the well-known catalogue of our victories, our conqueſts and our acquiſitions under his Lordſhip's conduct in Europe, in Aſia, in Africa and in America; as the language of the times then was. When a French fleet had ſet ſail known to be deſtined for the invaſion of theſe realms and that no news came of it for ſome days, how indifferent an object of idle curioſity and inquiry was it with us? His Lordſhip united all the parts of this great empire and turned and employed

ed againſt its enemies the combined ſtrength of the whole. I don't know, whether I may ſay; that he was as fortunate at union, as ſome men have ſince been effectual at diviſion: the whole world may perhaps be well challenged on that head; but he and others have each had their different means of adminiſtration and the effects have on both ſides accordingly and perfectly correſponded. How is our America changed ſince that time! Under whoſe banners did it then ſerve and then fight? But for what deſign are its colours now flying, its ſwords now drawn, its armies now marching, its artillery now mounted: who and where are its enemies and againſt whom are all theſe preparations provided and intended? —The war however went on in Germany and we continued to run in debt under his Lordſhip.—Nothing will ever induce me to deny the having learnt with my alphabet in politics; that our iſland ought on ſuch occaſions to keep clear of the continent: the whole experience of my life has to the greateſt degree further ſtrengthened in me the ſame opinion nor do I in the leaſt doubt; but that I ſhall to my laſt

day

day continue in it ſo confirmed and corroborated. I am yet more averſe to borrowing, than to the other ſtep, if poſſible, and ſo far as they are different. Were it not for our debt; the maddeſt ſet of miniſters would be put to it totally to undo the nation within the period of their power. Lord Chatham did not however firſt carry us into Germany; he found us there. I will not enter into the particular circumſtances of Hanover or into any difficulties with regard to giving it up at that time, engaged as it was; but a defenſive war in that country was certainly very different from an offenſive one in Flanders: our enemies conſumed in that conteſt many men and much treaſure. With reſpect to the latter point of money matters; Lord Chatham did not during the preceding peace guide the reins of government. He never had the power or the opportunity of ſettling any previous eſtabliſhment on which to have ſupported a war without adding to our debt: the midſt of hoſtilities with France was not a fit moment for ſuch a purpoſe. The revenue withal was not within the province of his Lordſhip. He recommended

in

in the firſt ſeaſon of his miniſtry a ſcheme for a tax; but which his colleagues in government refuſed: I might perhaps have ſomething to ſay on that particular ſubject; were it to my purpoſe. It was however without doubt infinitely preferable to gain every thing with an additional debt of twelve millions a year than to loſe all with one of eight. His Lordſhip's plan appears to have been the making by victory way to a ſpeedy, an honourable and an advantageous peace and he nobly performed his part towards it. Every candid man will in reflecting on this ſubject conſider; how much our wonderful ſucceſs and conqueſts were evidently owing to the counſels of Lord Chatham; as likewiſe how far any difficulties or embarraſſments obſervable in his meaſures proceeded from the ſituation and the circumſtances of the nation; at the time that the adminiſtration of it came into his hands. Fortune however has probably never ſuffered us to ſee or to experience the full effects of the views and the deſigns of his Lordſhip. This able ſtateſman was not long after the concluſion of the late war again called to take upon him the care and the conduct of our government.

ment. I am perfectly perſuaded, that his Lordſhip would in ſuch a ſituation have diſdained to uſe his poſt or his power only for the purpoſe of heaping profits and advantages on himſelf, his friends or his family: that he would hardly have laid his head on his pillow with comfort nor have ſeen the face of the ſun with ſatisfaction; until he had eſtabliſhed the nation on ſome ſure and ſolid ground of being able to diſcharge its debts in time of peace and to make head againſt its enemies in time of war. His capacity would have comprehended the means and the extent of our commerce, the ſources and the effects of our taxes and the mutual combinations and relations of theſe two great objects with each other: his underſtanding would have enabled him to avail himſelf of the lights and the aſſiſtance of others; where any thing of that kind might be required. It is inconceivable; but what our condition and our circumſtances would in the nature of things have admitted of ſuch a ſyſtem and a ſettlement, if that a due conſideration and attention had been given to ſo important a ſubject and if our late time of leiſure and of quiet had been properly employed to

that

that moſt eſſential and abſolutely neceſſary purpoſe. However motley the adminiſtration then formed by his Lordſhip is repreſented to have been; he ſeems to have meant to manage and to govern them by the means and as it were the dint of wiſe, of honeſt and of good meaſures. I truſt, that he would have accompliſhed as much: that way would have over-borne all oppoſition: the public would have co-operated with him: his Lordſhip had proved that in the progreſs of the late war. A prince or a miniſter and the people united can do wonders: although that may unhappily be an experiment not often put to the proof. But the Guardian Genius of Great-Britain ſlept at that moment. Lord Chatham was driven by ſickneſs from the helm and how different a ſcene of affairs is now before our eyes! The evening ſun of this great miniſter ſeems to be ſetting with a beauty and a luſtre anſwerable to the blaze and the brightneſs of his meridian. The laſt endeavours of his Lordſhip during his ſeaſon of health and in the capacity of an independent patriot have been to reconcile the differences and to prevent the calamities of the public by a ſcheme of accommodation

modation between us and our colonies and likewiſe to improve the independence of Parliament by a moſt well-judged propoſition of doubling the members for our counties in the Houſe of Commons together with correſpondent proviſions for the Houſe of Peers; but which latter I will not preſume to repeat. The writer wiſhes the welfare of his Lordſhip for the remainder of his days accordingly and in juſt proportion; as his ſervices and his conduct towards his country have deſerved: the ſame is his moſt ſincere prayer with reſpect to every public perſon, miniſter or any other. May all men wear eternal laurels earned by their merits: may all men bear on their own heads only all the evils brought about by themſelves! Theſe things come from one hardly known to Lord Chatham except in public and whoſe obligations to him are only in common with all the kingdom. This ſmall incenſe is unworthy the envy of any man: a poor, but due tribute of this kind is all the little return or reward likely to be received by thoſe; who endeavour at this time to ſerve or to ſave their country. As to the general affairs before us; his Lordſhip's opinion having

having on that ſubject been rejected and a contrary plan being purſued: what can we expect but likewiſe a ſucceſs and an iſſue totally different from thoſe, which we formerly experienced under the counſels and the conduct of his Lordſhip?

We are however ſometimes told; that it is not they, who cry war and havock; but who recommend peace and reconciliation: not they who paſſed or who enforced the ſtamp or the tea bills; but who repealed the one and who have attempted to do the ſame by the other, that have made all this miſchief. I ſhall in anſwer to this only wiſh; that Providence may be pleaſed to reſtore the public to the ſtate, in which it was before the date or between the execution of thoſe acts and I will not add (but the nation itſelf would readily enough;) may the peace produced by the preſent meaſures be upon the authors of them! People muſt however be ſurely hard driven in their own defence; when they condeſcend to employ ſuch an argument.

But what ſhall we ſay to the authority and the ſupremacy of the Legiſlature ſometimes

times ſounded ſo high? I truſt myſelf to have already been ſufficiently full and explicit on that head. It is however a moſt reſpectable expreſſion: I know none more ſo relative to human affairs; ſo far as it is founded on the true conſtitution of our country and when it is confined within the bounds preſcribed by God and by Nature to human government. I bear it at all events ſo much reverence; that I ſhall avoid to ſpeak over-freely on the ſubject of it: but ſo much I muſt ſay; that whenever it is proſtituted to ſignify directly or indirectly the pleaſure of a prince or a miniſter or is put for arbitrary power and for abſolute deſpotiſm, in whatever hands placed; the ſanctity of it is exceedingly leſſened. As to another language of the credit and the ſteadineſs and the conſiſtency of government often in ſome men's mouths I muſt frankly confeſs myſelf not ſo much to worſhip thoſe words: they perpetually appear to me to mean no more than the poſts and the places of thoſe employing them. A total alteration of our meaſures might poſſibly demand likewiſe one among our miniſters. That impediment removed, what further difficulty is there in the caſe? How can the honour

of government be really engaged in any meaſures otherwiſe, than according to the rectitude of them? Prudent, upright, beneficial proceedings do a credit to all governments: but for weak, unjuſt, deſtructive ones; ſurely the ſooner that they are got rid of ſo much the better. I flatter myſelf, that I could on this occaſion have furniſhed certain perſons with a hint not unworthy of their reflection; if I had enjoyed the honour of being in their counſels: which would have been; to have inſtead of drawing ſo very deeply upon the public made rather ſome demand upon their own modeſty; I mean to have changed their meaſures; but to have tried whether they could not by the help of a good friend in the cabinet have kept their poſts. One would have thought, that they ſhould not have wanted advice on this head; but *nemo omnibus horis*—They appear now to have unneceſſarily ſtaked both their country and their places; if nothing elſe beſides.

Some one may however aſk; why is there ſo much contention about theſe colonies; cannot we well live without them? How do many other nations and how did we

we in the reign of Queen Elizabeth? To which I ſay; peace be with the ſpirit of that excellent princeſs; whom I cannot mention or think of without honour: although it may perhaps be the faſhion of the times to reflect upon her name and that there may be reaſon for it; ſince theſe do certainly very little reſemble hers. Heaven only knows; whether that exalted ſpirits look down from above upon the affairs of mortal men; whether they intereſt themſelves in our concerns or receive ſatisfaction from our reſpect and our remembrance of them: the writer however finds a pleaſure in profeſſing his reverence for the memory of that incomparable Queen; whom he holds for one of the firſt crowned heads, that ever ſat on this or on any other throne: the diſtinguiſhing mark and character of whoſe reign were a true care of her people and of the public; who commanded money and taxes granted to her by unbribed and by unbought parliaments to remain in the pockets of her ſubjects, as her beſt and her ſureſt treaſury. I wonder; whether theſe our invaluable provinces would have been under revolt againſt the mother country on the ſubject of taxation, when that

Queen wore the crown of England; if they had then belonged to us. I am however very far from meaning to charge this unfortunate event upon the perſon of our gracious Prince: the royal breaſt is reported to have been filled and inſpired with a warm affection to our colonies. It muſt be makers of miſchief, whiſperers, flatterers, evil miniſters and favourites; who alone can in the preſent æra cauſe our troubles and our grievances. Perſons indeed of that ſort are ſaid to have from the truly great Princeſs before ſpoken of found but little entertainment and I truſt, that they will equally be diſcouraged or be diſcharged; if any ſuch ſhould have preſumed to approach the preſence of majeſty in our days and if the fruits of their works ſhall by this time have but too fully teſtified the nature of the parent ſtock; from which they muſt be ſprung. It is however true; that in thoſe times Scotland was not united, Ireland not ſubdued, our Weſt-Indies not planted, our Eaſt-Indies not ſettled nor Africa frequented by us: we were nevertheleſs a great, a glorious, a flouriſhing and an improving people. Colonies and dependencies are doubtleſs not abſolutely neceſſary to a nation;

tion; but there muſt according to an ancient expreſſion be no brick to make, where no ſtraw can be procured. There muſt in ſuch a caſe not be every year to pay near five millions of pounds ſterling for the intereſt of a debt nor above five other millions to find for current ſervices; there muſt not be more than ten millions to bring annually clear and neat into an exchequer. I wonder how our miniſters will manage theſe matters without America. It is there, that the political ſhoe pinches thoſe, who ſeem to feel nowhere elſe. Were it not for this cauſe; America might be the main and that whole continent be put upon the caſt of a die. Were we out of wantonneſs or for amuſement ſtripped in a courſe of leſs than three years of all our provinces; the debt of honour might poſſibly be paid and we nevertheleſs not become bankrupt; but it is another conjuncture now. How will ſome people in the preſent ſituation provide for our increaſed navy, our various and numerous armies, our ſtanding troops, our militia, our foreign forces, Dutch, Hanoverians, Heſſians, Brunſwickers, Ruſſians and the Lord knows whom; I ſay, for the ordinance, the tranſport

port ſervice, the civil liſt, for all the extraordinary efforts now making; as well as the common ſtrength and trappings of our moſt expenſive government? What will they anſwer; if a deſperate and a ſtarving people, a licentious and an ill-paid ſoldiery tired with plundering and with deſtroying each other ſhould unite in requiring reaſon of them, as of the authors of all their evils? What ſatisfaction will they make; if a debt of near upon a hundred and forty millions of pounds ſterling ſhall one day be demanded at their hands? The proudeſt and the moſt ornamented among them may in ſuch a time look very ſmall: they do nevertheleſs not know and they ſeem full as little to reflect; whether or no that hour is very far off. This is the point, which I would likewiſe willingly preſs upon our country gentlemen. It may ſeem a ſpecious language to ſome: why cannot we ſilently and quietly ſink into an abſolute monarchy; like ſo many other nations around us? We ſhall nevertheleſs enjoy our manſions, our parks, our tables, the regard of our friends and the reſpect of our neighbours: we may indeed be obliged to bend to a few ſuperiors; but the natural pride of man

will

will be pleaſed and be flattered with a great number of inferiors, over whom he may himſelf lord it a little in return: Who can then call this ſuch an uncomfortable or an inſuppo table life? I will not in anſwer to theſe things once more point out ſome of the nobleſt parts of the world laid waſte by deſpotiſm: I will not endeavour to rouſe or to raiſe in ſupport of the public liberty and proſperity the honourable blood received from the anceſtors and running in the veins of thoſe to whom I am now particularly preſuming to apply myſelf; but I ſay; that this pleaſing dream of ſuch a peaceable change cannot in our circumſtances poſſibly take place. Bankruptcy and the breach of our provinces from us neceſſarily muſt and inevitably will produce diſtraction, confuſion, convulſions and every evil; which theſe perſons do with very great reaſon ever the moſt fear and moſt abhor. Should two ſuch very conſiderable portions of this empire, as the mother country and our colonies of North-America ſeparate from each other only to meet again in a contention of arms; all Engliſh eſtates cannot but be broken into a thouſand ſhatters by the ſhock and the conflict.

Should

Should the funds fail; however ſome men may flatter themſelves about a ſponge and the wiping off our debts in ſuch a way; their lands will infallibly be brought to nothing long enough before even the boldeſt miniſter will venture upon that meaſure; however ill it may beſides fare in the mean time with the public creditors. I verily believe, that there is in Europe no rank and number of men whatſoever without exception more to be envied than the country gentlemen of England nor perhaps ſo much; if that the nation ſhall continue in the ſame internal peace and tranquility as it has for many ages paſt enjoyed: but ſo then on the other hand there being throughout our whole kingdom not one ſingle fortified place, no city, town, royal or private caſtle capable of reſiſtance neither are in appearance any perſons more expoſed, more helpleſs or leſs prepared for ſelf-defence, than they; if that theſe bleſſings ſhall unhappily leave our iſland and give way to rapine, to plunder and to violence; either coming upon us from abroad, like a cloud, or ariſing among ourſelves, as a peſtilence. Some one however may here ſay; if that this America is ſuch a fine and a ſpacious place; as is often

often talked of: why may not we emigrate thither, as well as others? Be it ſo; but will the ſame ranks be maintained in New England as in Old; may in that day poſſibly the low not be made high and the high be made low? Is the fable forgotten of a prince and a ploughman caſt together upon a ſtrange coaſt and how much better the latter fared, than the former? An Engliſh country gentleman will make but an indifferent figure with the Atlantic ocean between him and his eſtate; when high taxes, abatement of rents, breaking of tenants and other domeſtic diſorders ſhall abſorb or ſhall prevent his remittances. Let this matter be turned in all its lights, let the ſubject be conſidered on every ſide and it may be depended upon; that there will be found no poſſible ſafety or welfare for this now happy and fortunate, as well as moſt reſpectable order of men; except by the preſervation of all the eſſential parts of our great empire in peace, in union and in harmony with each other. Theſe things are ſo clear and ſo ſtriking; that the preſent indifference, abjectneſs, deſpondency, or whatever it is to be called of our landed gentlemen in this moſt critical conjuncture of their country is indeed

deed very ſtrange. They might do much did they exert themſelves on the occaſion: their proper applications could not well be reſiſted or refuſed; but cauſes appear to be even from that quarter preparing, conſpiring and concurring towards our ruin. Theſe perſons will one day have hearty reaſon to repent them of their conduct; but the time and the opportunity will then be paſt and beyond the power of man to call back. There is another more hardened and more hard-hearted race, who may not in an univerſal calamity merit perhaps any particular compaſſion; but to whom I would nevertheleſs ſay ſomething; I mean, the expectants of a court and the creatures of a miniſter. Such are the circumſtances and the condition of theſe times, that even they will in all appearance be little longer able to enjoy peaceably their places and their profits; unleſs that they ſhall likewiſe conſent to join in the ſaving of their country. It will be but poor plundering of the public for people; who ſhall by the means of foreign enemies or by any other general misfortunes be themſelves the prey of others. So far is it then from being indifferent for us in our preſent ſituation

tuation to forego America; that it would be a much nicer queſtion, whether there is almoſt a ſingle man in the kingdom; who will not find and feel the loſs of it.

One ingenious gentleman however declares himſelf to have diſcovered; that there can be no medium or accommodation between us and the Americans; no ſuch peace and terms, as ſubſiſted from the firſt foundation of the colonies until within theſe very few years; until the ſtory of the ſtamps and afterwards from the repeal of that act to the project of the tea; no ſuch as does at this time moſt happily obtain between us and Ireland: I ſay, that a figure has been formed, by which all this is found to be utterly impoſſible under the preſent planet and we are given to underſtand inſtead; that no alternative is left for us; but either to bring them into abſolute ſubjection, that is, in plain Engliſh to cut their throats or elſe to caſt them off. The turn is in the mean time to revile and to abuſe the Americans; that ſo our wiſe and merciful adminiſtration may be ſupported firſt in trying the bloody experiment and then in loſing our colonies; if that ſhall not ſucceed.

ceed. It is nevertheleſs but a very ſhort time, not above three or four years at moſt; ſince that rivers of gold and of ſilver kept conſtantly, quietly, gently flowing from that continent into the mother country and the ſeat of empire. Things might have ſo continued: the cauſe of rupture did not come from their part: it proceeded from Great-Britain. Why might not we then have let them gone on pouring their millions into our laps; at leaſt while they were willing? What has on a ſudden brought us into this new and this deſperate dilemma; if we are under ſuch a one? Undoubtedly, our own extreme folly and madneſs and nothing elſe. This is as certain; I will not ſay, as demonſtration; but as matter of fact can make it. So much for the time paſt and concerning that to come; ſince the making of peace is certainly, as cheap and as eaſy and probably as ſure likewiſe; as cutting the throats of hundreds of thouſands of armed men: why ſhould we in the firſt place not employ that means and do theſe Americans the honour to accept from them ſome further quantities of that traſh; for which they ſubſtitute paper in their country, but which Engliſhmen

have

have a wonderful fondneſs to handle in ſpecie? Why will it not be time enough for telling them to ſet up for themſelves; when we do not want or are not willing to meddle with any more of their money? Will not the propoſed expedient be at all times ready to our hands without trouble? But *quid non mortalia pectora cogis*---What will not the taſte of ſome preferment and the deſire of more induce men to advance? We are however to conceive no ſuch cauſe in the caſe of this gentleman; for *non vult Epiſcopari*. I ſay, and I acknowledge that whoever preſumes to propoſe himſelf to the public for a guide; does certainly and of courſe intitle them to enquire into the grounds of his conduct for ſo doing. No man deals about him more freely or more plentifully his hard words than this writer. That *they break through every tie of honour, honeſty and conſcience; that they forge, lie and falſify** make but a mighty ſmall part of the compliments; which he beſtows upon thoſe, with whom he declares himſelf to be in controverſy. He is therefore on a double account the object

* See Addreſs and Appeal, page 86.

ject of that maxim. It has not pleaſed the Maker of men; that they ſhould abſolutely look into the breaſts of one another; as they do into a book: but if it was not for a ſeeming diſclaim, the ſincerity of which I do not queſtion; I ſhould ſhrewdly ſuſpect myſelf to ſee in the writings of this gentleman the very ſtrongeſt, outward ſigns of ſeeking preferment. There are various and different ways of doing this; but perhaps few ſurer or better for the purpoſe, than pamphleteering after a proper manner. I wiſh however this gentleman ſincerely and heartily a Biſhoprick, whatever he may do for himſelf; if the opinion promoted by him ſhall prove true of the little importance of North-America to Great-Britain. God is my Judge; that I ſeek only truth and the good of my country. It is nevertheleſs to be earneſtly hoped; that a proper period and a due time may be taken for the experiment and that neither he nor any man will in the face of a diſtracted public wear a mitre; as the reward of his having contributed to their confuſion. But this gentleman is not ſatisfied with one civil war in America: he beats the drum

drum for another in Ireland. He propoſes to unite likewiſe that iſland under the Parliament of Great-Britain; which he ſays *has long been the ardent wiſh of every true patriot of both nations.** We ſhall then have all the Iriſh, as we have now all the American throats to cut. I will for one however venture to adviſe; that we firſt finiſh our preſent, before we begin upon ſuch another buſineſs. Does the gentleman mean there likewiſe to recommend his noſtrum of caſting them off; if they ſhall after the ſame manner prove ſtubborn and backward upon the experiment? They have rich biſhopricks in that country; however ſtupid the Americans may have been in putting by ſuch an eſtabliſhment; when it has been preſſed upon them. I dare ſay that no eccleſiaſtical pique or ſpirit on any account of that kind ever makes a part of the preſent ſubject; but ſurely all men of every or of no profeſſion muſt wiſh us well to reflect; before that we fling away our ineſtimable poſſeſſion of Ireland after North-America already gone by the very means propoſed for the other. What could induce any man

* See ditto, page 42.

man in his ſenſes to ſound at this inſtant an alarm likewiſe for that iſland and to threaten them there with the attempt of a Britiſh taxation in their turn? Is not this doing the work of the Americans with a witneſs? It certainly could not be intended to flatter the views of ſome men in the moſt remote receſſes of their minds or to make a merit of avowing an extravagance beyond what our miniſters have hitherto publicly at leaſt appeared to deſign or to deſire upon their own principles. This would indeed be bidding high for advancement; could it be the meaning: but whatever may be the motive; it becomes in ſo great a criſis, a good and a faithful Engliſhman not to ſcruple ſaying; that this writer ſeems in fact moſt wantonly to play with the ſafety and the welfare of his country.

Some groſs accounts of our exports to America, to Holland and to Germany are by the ſame perſon produced out of the Cuſtom-Houſe books and compariſons made upon them. I will not enter into that ſubject: I will ſay nothing about the authority of theſe books nor how conſiderable or how improving our North-American

American trade was according to thoſe accounts themſelves: it would not pay the pains. We ought for the purpoſe of forming by ſuch a means any proper opinion concerning the value of our late connection with that country to have before us all the true particulars of every thing really brought in and carried out between us in any way and on whatſoever account. There would then be ſeen, what might perhaps amaze ſome men; but which will infallibly be found by the effects. Our North-American trade was undoubtedly both moſt important in itſelf and likewiſe complicated with a great part of our whole commerce. We ſee what has by its failure already happened with regard to the African; but which muſt in thoſe books be entered under its own head and not that of America. This ſingle inſtance fully proves the fallacy of all ſuch confined obſervations and reaſoning. Our Colonies and Great-Britain however are to be compared in a very different manner beſides; as dependencies on one hand and as the ſeat of empire on the other. All the treaſure, all the gold and the ſilver however procured, all the ſpare produce of that vaſt continent came on this ac-

count to us and centered here. So likewiſe would it in great meaſure have done had it been ten times as much and whether or no one word was written about it in a book. What mines of money have by the ſame means our Weſt-India iſlands been to us? But go and conſult the Cuſtom-Houſe books on the ſubject and the balance of trade with them will of courſe and from that very circumſtance there appear againſt us. I wonder what book contains an account of the prodigious profit received by us every year from Ireland. I cannot likewiſe help obſerving here; that the ſame reaſoning holds good with regard to England and to Scotland; where however no book is kept and of which there does not always ſeem to be the juſteſt ſenſe; but men are eagle-eyed to their perſonal and abſolutely blind to their general intereſts. No ſmall ſhare of the ſubſtance of theſe countries is by our dominion and our government drawn hither: the leſs that they receive from us in return, the clearer are our gains and the more remains with us to ſend and to ſell to others. When this gentleman comes to conſider the advantage of our imports from North-America; he admits only of two heads; *Raw materials*

of

of manufactures and *taxable objects*.* This ſeems very ſtrange. Suppoſe Corn, a commodity not taxed, ſent from thence hither to the amount of a million of money, the produce of which is without return or exchange to diſcharge the demands of government, of abſentees &c. is this nothing nor worth the reckoning? He ſeems to object to rice being a taxable object. He ſays, it ought not to be taxed. Suppoſe then neither that nor tobacco to be ſo; but remitted hither for the end and in the manner before mentioned: ſuppoſe them however to be purchaſed at the fountain head of our plantations with our manufactures; inſtead of being paid for at foreign markets with our money: ſuppoſe again neither the one or the other; but that they were only a profit to our merchants and an employment to our ſeamen by being imported and exported. Would they in all or in any of theſe caſes be of no conſideration? I will not dwell on this ſubject: but it ſeems to me that the gentleman himſelf muſt on further reflection ſee the deficiency of his own argument. There are indeed perſons, who appear to think the reſt and the bulk of mankind

 made

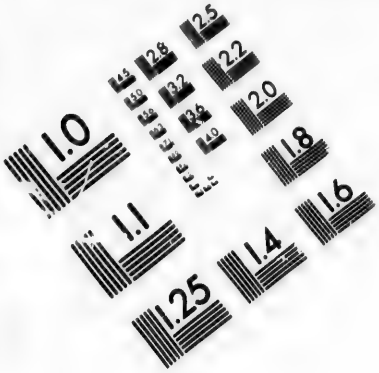
* See Humble Addreſs pag. 54.

made only to be taxed; but that cannot here be the caſe. Theſe cuſtom-houſe books however having thus come in my way, I deſire to be indulged in throwing out an ænigma concerning them; which I ſhall not ſtay to explain, but the meaning of which I truſt myſelf well to underſtand. The beſt meaſure poſſible to purſue with reſpect to them would perhaps be; if the Legiſlature was pleaſed to command them all to be burnt in one common pile and never to be again begun. What a noble ſacrifice and offering would that be upon the altar of commerce! It would be a flame of a very different kind from that, which is now kindled between Britain and America. Our merchants might perhaps take no great pains to extinguiſh it. That point however lies out of my preſent road.

But we are told; that if we ranſack hiſtory, records, ſtatutes, books and writings, we may muſter ſtrange charges againſt theſe Americans. They ſometimes winched and flinched under government, at other times they ſmuggled and contrabanded in trade. Theſe are truly mighty matters. Were not they upon the whole moſt obedient ſubjects in peace? It was as rare to find a rebel as a phœ-

a phœnix among them. Were they not zealous allies in war? It is but between ten and twenty years, ſince they helped us to ſubdue no ſmall portion of the globe. Did not we to a great degree direct their trade? We have received from them mines of riches by that means. What real wrong did they ever once offer us? They planted themſelves at their own expence and are nevertheleſs known and acknowledged among mankind for the moſt noble and moſt beneficial colonies ever ſubject to any nation. Why ſhould we then trouble ourſelves about trifles or make mountains of mole-hills; when the whole went ſo very well? Do we expect, that nature ſhould to content our humours have made millions of men without the paſſions and the ſenſations common to our ſpecies or are we ourſelves exempt from theſe at home? Such things, it may be ſaid, betrayed however a lurking and a latent fire; which might one day flame forth. But I aſk when and how, in what manner or at what diſtance? Any ſuch pretence is as to the preſent time totally groundleſs, contradictory both to the fact and to our own conduct. If a ſpirit of rebellion or of ſedition was ſpread and

rife



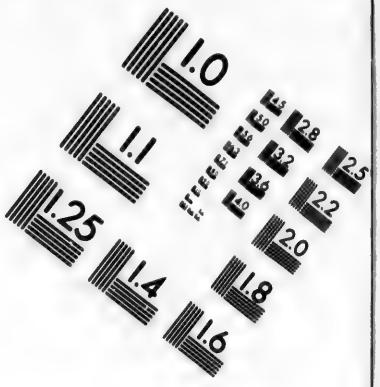
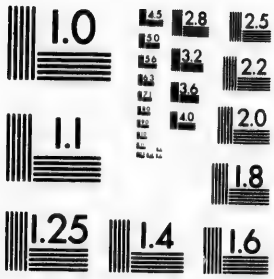
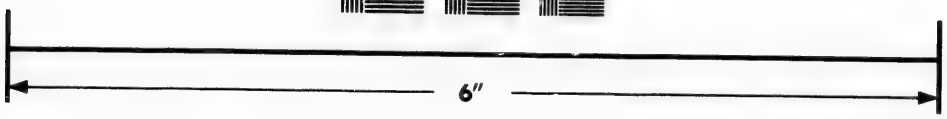
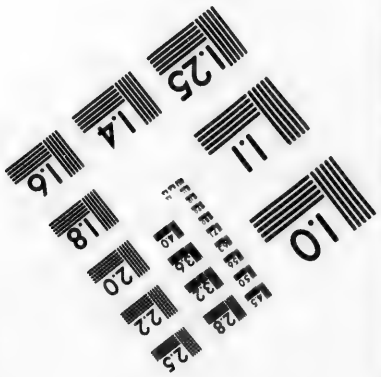


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)







Photographic Sciences Corporation

25 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

rife throughout our provinces; how came our cunning men with all their lights to be ignorant of it or knowing that a number of barrels of gunpowder were ready heaped up and prepared; did they themſelves with their own hands lay the trains and put the match to them? This would have been full as abſurd in action; as their friend's paradox is in reaſon. The truth is; that inſtead of owning and of amending our errors; now that they are become ſo plain, as to be perceived both by ourſelves and by the whole world; ſome of us ſeek or encourage others to ſeek theſe poor, paltry, contemptible ſubterfuges; as a colour or an excuſe for our crying injuſtice and ingratitude with regard to the Americans and our moſt wretched and ruinous conduct with reſpect to our country at home.

But Methodiſm has entered the liſts againſt liberty and againſt property. We are from that quarter told; that it is only a few deep, ſecret, covert, Engliſh Republicans; who have raiſed up this civil war in America and who oppoſe all meaſures of reconciliation. Theſe Republicans therefore paſſed or executed the acts relating

relating to the ſtamps, the tea, the port of Boſton, the charter and the government of Maſſachuſets-bay, the fiſheries and the commerce of America: they ſent an army to that country laſt year and they doubled it this together with fleets, artillery and all fit means of miſchief to attend it: they rejected, refuſed or neglected all applications and petitions for peace from New-York, from the continental congreſs, from the city of London, from various parts of America and of Britain; as likewiſe the propoſitions of Lord Ch., of Mr. B. and of other perſons for the ſame purpoſe. One part of theſe meaſures have been the certain cauſes of our civil war and the other part the oppoſition to reconciliation. Is it the ſame Republicans, who have garriſoned Gibraltar and Minorca with Hanoverians and who have publiſhed a Cruſado calling all men and all nations to the deſtruction and the plunder of our colonies and who are to tranſport them thither for that pious and that beneficial purpoſe? I am tired with reckoning; but how horrible a liſt it is and what wicked men muſt theſe Republicans be! Theſe new, covert Republicans muſt ſurely have been very crafty ſo to have

have baffled and to have over-reached our many oſtenſible miniſters; who being able to act openly and avowedly have no doubt, good men, taken ten times the pains to keep things right; that theſe abominable Republicans have to put them wrong. How unlucky is it; that either our miniſters were not as cunning as theſe Republicans or theſe Republicans not as honeſt as our miniſters: in either of which caſes we and our colonies might have continued towards one another in the ſame ſtate, as we were three or four years ago; peaceable, contented and quiet! I cannot however but congratulate mankind; that there were not more of theſe Republicans: theſe very few have, it ſeems, flung into confuſion one of the firſt ſtates in the world and, it is to be hoped, as wiſely governed; as it is high in other regards—*Si duo præterea tales*—If there had been a dozen more ſuch and eſpecially if they durſt have proceeded by daylight, what part of Europe might have eſcaped? Republics do not riſe or ſpring up like muſhrooms; but who knows, whether they might not have been, as thick, as iſlands in the Archipelago? An European could then have hardly gone to Court

Court for Republics. There would have been no King's Chaplains---*Dii meliora piis*---I wonder, what the King of Cochin-China would have thought concerning ſuch a condition of our quarter of the earth; who, a Dutch traveller tells us, had like to have choaked himſelf with laughing only on hearing; that there was a people in Holland, who lived without a King. This Reverend Gentleman tells us in his Calm Addreſs; that theſe Republicans are endeavouring to divide our colonies from us in order to bring about by that means their favourite ſcheme of a commonwealth in England: another charges upon them in his Humble Addreſs; that they are endeavouring to keep us and our colonies together for the very ſame evil end. This argument is then a two-edged ſword with a witneſs; which cuts the republican fingers both ways. I don't know; whether I may not compare it to Scylla and to Charibdis: that if a poor Republican happens to eſcape the one; he is ſure to be devoured or to be ſwallowed up by the other. I don't pretend to reconcile theſe two Reverend Gentlemen: unleſs we may ſuppoſe; that it is poſſibly

poſſibly ſome honeſt, moderate, well-meaning men, whom they both concur to abuſe, but in this moſt contradictory manner; men who deſire nothing but the peace and who heartily abhor on any account whatſoever the very idea of the diſtraction and the confuſion of their country, who never entertained for a moment the leaſt intention towards an Engliſh or a Britiſh commonwealth in their lives and whom theſe Gentlemen make ſo bold to charge only from their love of the public and at the moſt perhaps ſome diſtant, ſpeculative, Utopian opinions, which are many and various among mankind. The ſame Apoſtle in Politicks, as well as in Religion, ſingles out Venice, Genoa and Holland, as three the moſt deſpotic ſtates under heaven. It is a pity, that he did not likewiſe favour us with his patterns of the freeſt: it is to be preſumed; that they would have been Pruſſia, Ruſſia and Turkey. Hypocrite, Bigot or Enthuſiaſt or a compoſition of theſe three characters, do you in your dotage likewiſe long after the fleſh-pots of Egypt or are you afraid; leſt that the light of reaſon and of liberty ſhould baniſh your cant and your jargon out of America? Be

ſatisfied

ſatisfied with puzzling or with miſleading yourſelf and your followers about free-will, grace, ſpirit and other ſuch ſubjects comprehended neither by you nor by them nor perhaps by any body elſe: you cannot at the bottom but be ſenſible; that truth and reaſon will not afford grounds whereon to perſwade a great people; that they have nothing belonging to them of their own: other means muſt be employed for that purpoſe; to which however you are willing to become a trumpeter. All government whatſoever is founded in conſent or in force: all lawful government is ſo in conſent; from which alone can ariſe any obligation to obedience. They who ſcorn to require on their ſide conſent; neceſſarily leave againſt them the right of reſiſtance. Where club-law is the practice of the Sovereign; the ſame code is of courſe open for the uſe of the ſubjects; when they can execute it. Slavery depends upon the will and the pleaſure of the maſter; but liberty and property reſt in the concurrence of the governed. You tell us; that the Americans and their anceſtors had a right to be taxed by the Parliament of England; but that they never had any other. I ſay; that they had a right

right to liberty and to property, to the ſubſtance and not to the ſhadow, to the matter and not to the form only: they enjoyed theſe by our parliament; when this was the proper method for that purpoſe: but ſince it has ceaſed to be ſuch; they ſtill retain their right to thoſe ineſtimable bleſſings to be enjoyed by ſuch means and in ſuch manner; as their new circumſtances and condition do beſt admit. But you and many more in England, you ſay, have no votes for Members of Parliament and where is the difference between ſuch perſons and the Americans? Let me try to tell you; if you do not already know. You are exactly in the ſame ſituation, with thoſe who have votes; law for law, tax for tax, benefit for benefit, burthen for burthen. Theſe cannot preſerve or profit themſelves without doing preciſely the ſame by you; they cannot enſlave or empoveriſh you without ſuffering the like fate and fortune themſelves. The Americans are under very different and in ſome reſpects contrary circumſtances. They are abſolutely with regard to this great point of taxation in the oppoſite ſcale. Every ſingle ſhilling levied on an American weighs on the Britiſh ſide and

ſaves

ſaves juſt the ſame ſum to the perſons impoſing it upon him or to thoſe chuſing ſuch, as do ſo. This argument is hourly hackneyed in our ears; but how few words afford it an anſwer in appearance beyond reply? You tell us; that it will be no harm for America, if it is taxed like Scotland. I anſwer, that Great-Britain now raiſes for the year at three ſhillings in the pound upon the land about eleven millions ſterling; the collection included. Scotland is favoured in the two taxes of the land and the malt; that is in two millions and a quarter of this ſum; but with reſpect to the remaining eight millions and three quarters the North-Briton pays alike and exactly, as the South. This is your pattern for a people; who now plainly appear to have neither gold nor ſilver among them and whoſe commerce is confined by ourſelves. I think; that you can hardly be acquainted with the meaning and the extent of your own words on this ſubject. You mention Ireland, as another example for America. That ſeems as ſtrange as the other. Could it miſs your memory; that Ireland is actually taxed by their own repreſentatives in the very manner; which the Americans deſire? Every man,

man, you ſay, may ſit under his own vine and his own fig-tree. But how can that or to what purpoſe will it be; when another may come and cut it down or take the fruit of it at his pleaſure?---But that has not been ſo hitherto---no nor this taxation. Paſt parliaments have undone our country at home by taxing: what ground then can there be to imagine; that thoſe to come would not do as much by America? You may quibble and chicane, as long as you will; but you had need to pull down the pillars of nature; before you can overturn the great principles of liberty and of property. You are ſaid to have ſtrangely contradicted yourſelf on this ſubject; but I little trouble myſelf about that: you contradict the cleareſt reaſon; after which you may for me make as free with yourſelf beſides as you pleaſe. Your conduct however does in one reſpect a credit to this people; if that the charge of fanaticiſm often laid upon them by their adverſaries; was as well founded, as is ſometimes pretended; they would hardly have had you for an enemy. You remind us of the great rule to fear God and to honour the King: when all will be well; but no other way. I ſay, reverence God; fear to offend

offend his laws; love him, as far as our poor and our weak faculties can lift themſelves up towards his incomprehenſible nature: honour the King, when he is a good one; think deſervedly of him when he is otherwiſe. Truſt conſtantly to the truth; never wilfully be deceived yourſelf nor deceive others. A good King is truly a great bleſſing of Heaven; the contrary is a ſcourge and a judgement. Plagues, peſtilence and famine are the bites of a fly in compariſon of a bad prince; as the ſtate of mankind and the hiſtory of the world will well inſtruct us. Let us not affect to couple together two Beings infinitely diſtant from each other, infinitely more diſtant than the vaulted ſky ſometimes called Heaven is from our earth; I ſay, to couple them with an affectation of equality or perhaps with ſome preference of the mortal to the eternal: ſince to be honoured is certainly before being feared. Methodiſt, methodiſt, do not you with all your pretences of piety about you compliment your King at the expence of your God; however covertly or indirectly. I hope to ſee no Methodiſt on the throne of England: it might be a ſad preſage. Three of our princes have particularly given into ſuperſtition

perſtition and their reigns have in a ſingular manner been marked with misfortunes. Let us on all occaſions ſeek and purſue the happineſs of mankind. That is the real rule given by God to all men and all nations: it is plain to every apprehenſion: it is more or leſs within the power of every one to perform and he is the worſt of impoſtors; who perverts to any other purpoſe our moſt benevolent religion. Why did not you endeavour to induce the governors of our country to caſt the weapons out of their hands; where peace has ever ſtuck from the beginning and where it yet ſticks; if that they have not themſelves made it too late? Why did you not ſet forth the preſent ſtarving, wretched condition of the poorer people of England? Is this no grievance or does it according to your general pretence not ſubſiſt or is it no conſequence of national meaſures or is it an improper ſubject in this American diſpute or are you unacquainted with it? You can tell it loudly enough, when you are talking to the lower rank themſelves; but ſo do you likewiſe know how to whiſper it; when you ſpeak for ſome others to hear and for whoſe ears your addreſs was in all appearance intended

tended and not for thoſe of the Americans to whom it is for form ſake ſuperſcribed. Your zeal is now not without knowledge; whatever it may be at ſome other times.

It is ſometimes ſaid in defence of the miniſter, that the preſent meaſures are not according to his own opinion or inclination; but that they are impoſed upon him from another quarter. No ſuch diſcourſe deſerves a moment's delay or attention. If the nation is undone, what does it matter by whoſe means? Whether any one hurried and blinded by his own paſſions ſtrikes with a bold and a deſperate hand his dagger into the heart of his country or whether he conſents to be made the cool and the abandoned inſtrument of another in the doing of it; either the one or the other crime is of ſuch a magnitude; that the whole world is hardly capable to hold a balance wherein to weigh it. I do not doubt; but that many a man has in different ſtations concurred on this occaſion with a moſt unwilling mind: the few at the helm however have from the beginning to the preſent inſtant carried on all the proceſs

of theſe miſerable meaſures ſo roundly, ſo readily, ſo earneſtly, ſo violently and with ſo little appearance of backwardneſs or of ſcrupulouſneſs; that their willingneſs towards the work and not the contrary appears the only wonder to be accounted for. It hurts me to take notice; that a caſt and colour of cruelty ſeem to dye the whole of theſe proceedings. But the attempt to ſtarve the inhabitants of our colonies by prohibiting the importation of proviſions; which is waging war with the poor and the helpleſs, with women and children, on whom only ſuch a meaſure muſt fall: the deſign of exciting, of arming and of leading againſt our countrymen nations of ſavage Indians; who do not in their hoſtilities act like men, but who ſeek with a horrible barbarity to imbrue their hands in the blood of that defenceleſs ſex and their harmleſs little ones: the endeavours to debauch ſlaves for the purpoſe of deſtroying and of butchering their maſters: the ſending armies of ſtrangers and of barbarians to waſte with fire and with ſword that country; which was within theſe three years ſubject to us and which we pretend

tend to deſire and to expect ſhould be ſo again: the wanton deſtruction of towns and of dwellings and, I hope, that I may not join the unbecoming treatment of brave men under the pretence of their being rebels: the general hardneſs and ingratitude of doing theſe things and much more to a people; who ever bore us the moſt ſincere and the warmeſt affection and from whom we have received unſpeakable benefit; muſt, I ſay, ſurely move every one, whoſe nature has in it any mixture of the milk of humanity. Cruelty has hitherto been never charged upon us, as a nation: do not let that likewiſe be now thrown into our meaſure; as if it was on this occaſion not ſufficiently heaped up and full without any ſuch addition.

Our adminiſtration however, we are told, has been deceived. That matter will not be diſputed with them; but if any one neither knows of himſelf how to chuſe fit meaſures nor to conſult proper perſons upon the ſubject of them nor to adopt them; when they are pointed out and preſſed upon him by thoſe whom he

does not conſult; for the love of heaven what has he to do at the head of a ſtate? Can ſuch a perſon poſſibly find no other way of ſpending his time? If any thing can add to the enormity of the preſent proceedings themſelves; it is the headlong manner in which they have againſt ſo much advice and admonition and from ſo many quarters both at home and abroad been preſſed and purſued. It was not particularly pointed out; that Lexington would be the beginning of blood or Bunker's-Hill the field of battle: the names of Putnam and of Waſhington were not written down; but I cannot recollect ſo much as one ſingle material circumſtance, which has taken place and of which our rulers were not fairly and timely forewarned. Every ſtep might readily be reckoned up; if it was not too ſtale and too well known a ſtory to be now repeated. Have not we fought and bought and paid for deception? Was not it publicly underſtood to be the high road of preferment for our governors to flatter our power and our meaſures and to make miſchief between us and our colonies? When we had thus purchaſed miſinformation and evil counſel were we not

our

our own dupes and did we not greedily ſwallow and believe, what we had ourſelves ſo procured with our money? Why is however not ſome ſmall ſatisfaction at leaſt given on this ſubject? Why are ſuch wretched adviſers, the ill-fated inſtruments of this moſt ruinous civil war, ſuffered to continue crawling about our councils or feeding upon the blood of the public? But wherefore do we talk of the counſels or the information of men; when Providence, fate, events themſelves have in the ſtrongeſt manner admoniſhed and diſcouraged the authors of theſe misfortunes; but with no more effect, than if ſuch circumſtances had only concerned the ſtate of affairs and ſome ſquabble in China or in Japan. There is not a deafer adder upon earth than a miniſter of ſtate; when you would charm his paſſions, his pride, his ambition or his avarice: but Heaven have pity upon that poor people; whoſe adder is blind, as well as deaf; who will neither hear the cleareſt reaſon nor can ſee the plaineſt facts, when they ſtare him the moſt fully in the face. It now rains addreſſes; as ſome people ſay, that frogs drop from the clouds. To addreſs is underſtood to be the means of finding fa-

vour at court and in the cabinet. Theſe addreſſes ſet forth the flouriſhing ſtate of the kingdom, of our commerce and our manufactures and how little the war and the revolt of America ar. yet felt. Men may put their confidence in this fine account; who have a mind and are determined to be deceived: but our miniſters ſurely cannot be ſuch children, ſuch chickens, ſuch innocents as not to be ſenſible, that there has hitherto been no time for a full and a fair trial of the effect. While our colonies kept paying their debts and ſending plentifully of their own produce to us and took from us little or nothing of ours: what muſt be the wiſdom of thoſe ſtateſmen or of any other perſons; who could fancy that to be the period, in which we were likely to feel their loſs? If the importation from thence into Britain ſtopped on the Monday, did any one dream; that our government would be bankrupt or our people all be ſtarved or our country be in diſtraction on the Tueſday? The proverb ſays, that opportunity flies apace, but ſuch great events and the fate of nations demand time and maturity. The fact nevertheleſs does already begin as much to ſhew and to develop itſelf;

ſelf; as could in ſo ſhort a ſpace have been feared or expected. Mancheſter and ſome few other of our manufacturing places may perhaps maintain their former ground; but it is too ſure a truth, that the body of our poorer and our lower people, our labourers, our handycraftſmen and our manufacturers themſelves are in general throughout the nation now ſunk and reduced to a degree never experienced before among us. What a material, what a melancholy circumſtance and conſideration! This our miniſters might know without ſtirring out of their own faction for information. How can then ſome men read or hear without bluſhing thoſe pretty compoſitions of their own procuring or encouraging? Come our misfortunes infallibly will and but too faſt, if we continue our actual courſe; when court-adulation, addreſſes and flattery will little avail to defend us from them. Would to God, that ſome men would have more patience on the ſubject and not ſo haſten them upon us; merely becauſe they are not here at this moment! They will not come like a flaſh of lightning; but let me add, neither will they ſo paſs away. When we produce ourſelves the cauſes, do we ſtand

ſtaring and enquiring; whether it is to be expected, that the effects will follow? What ſort of an huſbandman muſt he be; who having with his own hand ſown the ſeed ſhould doubt; whether he was in due time to reap the fruits and the harveſt of it, or who made a wonder; that his corn was not in the ear and the grain at Chriſtmas? Our miniſters have immoveably fixed their eyes on one favourite point, the abſolute ſubjection of America; they will believe in the moſt abſurd propoſition, opinion or plan; which appears to lead or to contribute to it; but they ſeem neither to ſee or to hear or to underſtand any one object in the whole world lying out of that line. Deceived no doubt we have been and moſt groſsly and moſt grievouſly. But by what means? Our own paſſions have impoſed upon us; our contempt of the perſons, our averſion to the liberty and our rapaciouſneſs after the property of others. Theſe are the counſellors which have miſlead us and what is worſe; we yet continue to be adviſed and to be directed by them: we have no more diſcharged or diſcarded theſe, than we have done B. and H.

Can it then be conceived, ſays ſome one, that a number of unreaſonable and of ill-judging men ſhould at one time be all ſo oddly jumbled together at the head of any ſtate or government? The chance would have been much againſt ſuch an unlucky combination; if that its inhabitants had in common drawn lots or caſt the die on the occaſion. The preſent times muſt ſpeak for themſelves: I ſhall anſwer nothing as to them. I may however endeavour to explain; how things have heretofore come to paſs and poſterity will be more fortunate than their fore-fathers; if they ſhall never happen again after the ſame manner. A Prince often empowers ſome particular perſon to chuſe or to controul all the other counſellors and officers of his kingdom. Such a one will probably pick them out according to his own pattern or expect them to conform to it; when the difficult and the diſobedient will of courſe be diſcarded the company. It is an old ſaying; that all life is a ſtage play: but where a firſt miniſter rules every thing, the compariſon may perhaps riſe no higher than to the humble repreſentation of a pup-

pet-ſhow

pet-ſhow: in which however the figures may ſtrut, ſtare or look big upon the outward ſtage and whether they act tragedy, comedy or farce; they dance and they ſpeak and they ſqueak, only as their maſter behind the ſcenes moves the ſprings and the ſtrings and the wires.

I deſire however to ſay ſomething upon the ſubject of ſuch a firſt or prime miniſter. I have uſed the expreſſion after others: but it is not the language of the conſtitution. We are not a race of Turkiſh ſlaves to be governed by a Grand Vizir nor is our nation a province of France, where the practice and the abuſe of many ages have accuſtomed the Monarch to delegate his power and his authority to a ſubſtitute. I do not know how to perſwade myſelf; that a Prince reigning in a land of liberty can be intitled or warranted to deliver over his people into the hands of any ſingle ſubject. A Parliament, I ſay, a free Parliament, a Parliament elected and acting without corruption is by our conſtitution appointed for the chief council of the King of England and not ſome one miniſter, flatterer or favourite. Our common people are apt to complain; that their

their betters ſometimes ape the modes of a neighbouring nation: but if this of a firſt miniſter is a French faſhion, any one may be bold to ſay; that it is the worſt cuſtom ever copied by us from that people. The political habits of that country are of late however much changed. The writer is not a very old man and he remembers when the Parliaments of Paris were a bye-word for their meanneſs and their abjectneſs towards their Prince. That matter however is now totally altered. I wonder what Parliaments will in time to come be the proverb for complaiſance and ductility. The French have learnt a firmneſs and a ſteadineſs and to look in caſe of exigency their King and his miniſter in the face. This is affirmed to have been formerly a good old Engliſh faſhion. When will our travelled gentry bring it with them back again to their own country? I truſt; that I may anſwer, as ſoon as reaſon and occaſion ſhall require: although the happineſs of the times may not now demand any ſuch preſent practice. How would it otherwiſe appear in the eyes of poſterity; ſhould the abject ſlaves of a prime miniſter be the deſpotic maſters of North-America?

America? *Non bene conveniunt nec in unâ ſede morantur*—I am perfectly perſwaded, that two ſuch directly contradictory circumſtances will never happen or be united in one and the ſame body of men.

There is a circumſtance, (which however contemptible in itſelf,) I do not know how to paſs over in ſilence; as it lies in my way and as it explains the temper of ſome men. The miniſterial writers have on this occaſion already begun to cry out for forfeitures and againſt noxious and erroneous clemency.* Can then the imagination and the ambition of our philoſophers carry them acroſs the Atlantic in hopes of farms and of plantations there for themſelves or do theſe things tempt their patrons and their paymaſters; in whoſe praiſes and for whoſe pleaſure they tune their lyres? Some Engliſh hiſtorians tell us, I will not warrant how truly; that the French played before the battle of Agincourt at dice for their

* Taxation no Tyranny, p. 87.—Nothing can be more noxious to ſociety, than that erroneous clemency; which when a rebellion is ſuppreſſed exacts no forfeitures and eſtabliſhes no ſecurities, but leaves the rebels in their former ſtate.

their priſoners; but who were neither then taken nor ever afterwards. We read of armies; that have brought along with them chains to bind their enemies: by whom they have themſelves been ſoundly beaten for their pains. The learning of theſe authors might at leaſt have furniſhed them with the fable; whoſe moral admoniſhes us not to be over-forward to divide the bear-ſkin, until we have firſt maſtered the bear. What is this but warning the Colonies to hold out to the utmoſt and in caſe of neceſſity to ſeek foreign aſſiſtance; rather than to forfeit their eſtates to perſons at home: whoſe fancy ſeems ſo forward to give them livery and ſeiſin on the occaſion. It may perhaps be a problem not unworthy the ſolution of theſe ingenious gentlemen themſelves; whether the policy or the humanity of this proceeding the moſt deſerves to be approved of and to be commended.

I have formerly touched upon Ireland. They have not there our debt: they have a different government and they are by the ſea ſeparated from us. They may poſſibly ſwim, when we ſink; but that

that muſt depend upon the utmoſt uncertainty of chance. They are a people moſt ſingularly and peculiarly circumſtanced among themſelves and with reſpect to one another; more ſo, than I will endeavour to explain nor which is neceſſary, it being well known and underſtood. Hiſtory can hardly trace; when they were combined under one head or had any form of civil ſociety of their own. Their preſent government originated many centuries ago from England; where its connection and its dependance have ever ſince continued. If the guiding reins ſhould through weakneſs or through diſorder drop out of our hands; they cannot but run the moſt dangerous riſque of falling under the command of ſome foreign nation or of their ſtate being totally turned up-ſide-down or of both miſchances. Thoſe perſons then muſt ſurely be doubly poſſeſſed; who having a ſtake in each of theſe iſlands have nevertheleſs preſſed and urged the preſent proceedings. I think, that ſuch men muſt by this time begin to grow ſick of their own work: in which caſe it is undoubtedly their higheſt duty to retract or to ſoften, what they have ſaid and to the beſt of their power to repair and to amend

amend what they have done. There is however another part of our country; which if I have before approached on this ſide, it was yet in a more diſtant manner and whoſe condition is in almoſt every reſpect directly contrary to that of Ireland; I mean, Scotland. They are of one iſland with us; but they had for many ages within themſelves their Kings, their Lords, their Commons, their Parliaments, their Courts and their Officers of Juſtice, their Laws and every other circumſtance of a perfect, compleat, ſeparate government. They have made with us many a war and many a peace; they had an ally, who did not uſe to fail them in time of their need and to whom they were themſelves according to the conjuncture of that period faithful in return. It has not been two centuries; ſince that we firſt had the ſame prince nor one ſince we have had the ſame legiſlature. This laſt union was the act of the Scottiſh not people, but parliament: were it to-morrow to be voted there by every man of twenty-one years of age; he is ill-informed; who believes, that it would not be diſſolved by a very great majority. They are a people perhaps, as much and as remarkably united among

among themſelves as they of Ireland are divided. What ſhould then hinder; but that they may in the caſe of an utter diſſolution or diſtraction of our government cut all the ties, the links, the chains, which now hold and faſten us together; I ſay, that they may leave England to ſink alone into a bottomleſs abyſs with a debt of a hundred and forty millions of pounds ſterling, hanging like a mill-ſtone about its neck? I ſhall not here be miſunderſtood, as if I was meaning any reflection upon a people; to whom I have from my youth up ever borne reſpect. I am moſt ſenſible of many and great advantages received by England from the union with Scotland. If they have no more gold and ſilver in North-Britain it is, becauſe that their nobility and their gentry prodigal them away after their pleaſures and their ambition in the South. They people us in the mean time with men, as good as ourſelves; as even our maidens and our widows ſeem ſometimes to bear witneſs. I verily believe them to have no more idea of a preſent diviſion from us; than of a ſeparation from the ſun or the moon. I am in my own mind fully ſatisfied; that the Americans entertained

tained five years paſt no ſuch intentions; whatever pretences the authors of theſe miſchiefs may in defence of themſelves and of their miſerable meaſures now invent or propagate. It is my particular perſwaſion; that no people reaſonably happy will for the ſake of diſtant and of uncertain fancies ever break or diſturb their real and their actual felicity. I ſpeak on a ſuppoſition therefore of a ſincere and an abſolute neceſſity; to which the proudeſt muſt bend and which the moſt powerful muſt obey. They may perhaps be then more willing to allow of its law in their own caſe; than they ſeem to be now in that of ſome others. When their only alternative left ſhall be to periſh with their neighbours or to preſerve themſelves without them; they may conceive, that there is but little either of caſuiſtry or of policy required to reſolve the queſtion. Why is ſuch a poſſibility much more diſtant or different from the ſtate; in which we now are: than our preſent ſituation is from that; in which we were at this time five years? I refer to five years ago, as to a former period; before that theſe troubles broke out: our active governors however have in fact employed but about two revolving

ſuns in performing the firſt half of their work. They truly have in a ſhort ſpace of time deſtroyed the temple of peace; but their wonders ſeem to be of a very different ſort from building up again with the ſame haſte. I preſs the rather theſe points in hopes of bringing certain perſons to ſome ſenſe of the circumſtances about them, of inducing them to conſider on what ground they ſtand, of making them reflect; that it is not every man, whom they meet in the ſtreets or whom they converſe or they conſult with; whoſe fortunes and whoſe affairs are on this ſubject in the ſame bottom with their own. There are who may get and may gain; who may loſe one half and may hold the other; who may ſuffer much and may nevertheleſs ſave a remnant: but they, to whom I would at this moment particularly apply myſelf, have no ſtake but in one ſpot, have their all in one veſſel or, to ſpeak a plain language, in England. I am fully perſuaded; that there are ſome perſons, whom it moſt behoves and moſt concerns; but who are even yet not aware upon what an adventure they have embarked themſelves, their families, their country and their King.

What

What then are we in this difficult ſtate of our affairs moſt to wiſh and to deſire; the victory of adminiſtration and the devaſtation of America or the ſuperiority and the liberty and conſequently to us the loſs of our colonies? This may not be the eaſieſt of queſtions to anſwer. He was a wiſe man; who prayed his God to ſend him, what he knew in his wiſdom to be good for him; although he did himſelf not deſire it: but to keep from him, what was evil; although he did deſire it. Should Providence for our penalty and our puniſhment ſuffer us to deſtroy our colonies; we ſhall bite the duſt together and France and Spain and perhaps leſſer people beſides take the ſpoils of both. Many men and ſome nations would commiſerate America: they would recollect her former affection, attachment and ſervices to us; although we forget them. Great-Britain would periſh unpitied and unlamented: our fall would be attributed to ingratitude and to injuſtice united with folly and with phrenzy. This however does not appear to be the probable train of future events: we ſeem on the contrary to be by force driving our Colonies into independance and into greatneſs. The common

courſe of hiſtory has hitherto been; that little ſcattered ſparks of liberty have fallen, as it were, from Heaven on particular ſpots; by virtue of which ſome ſtates ſmall at the beginning have wonderfully ſpread abroad their name and their power among mankind. It was never before known in the civilized world; that this holy flame blazed brightly and inſpired with an equal ardour every part throughout a great and a moſt extenſive continent. The effects of this phœnomenon in politicks are yet to be experienced. Athens is well underſtood to have been a democracy managed in great meaſure by its citizens in their collective capacity and it ſhone; as a light among nations. Rome was likewiſe a republic; but chiefly conducted by an elected ſenate nor need it to be ſaid; how it over ſhadowed the world. Theſe were however ſingle cities; within whoſe walls were confined their governments and their elections. There have hitherto been among men no inſtances of large, numerous and civilized nations; where the whole people ruled themſelves without a monarch by the means of repreſentative bodies appointed fairly, equally and frequently for that purpoſe.

This

This will probably be one day a new form of government and an improvement in democratical conſtitutions. It ſeems peculiarly well adapted to promote the intereſts and the happineſs; as well as to unite the inclinations and the opinions of all its members: it admits by an equal election and a real repreſentation every man to a juſt ſhare in the management and the adminiſtration of the whole. Perfection is not to be expected in the affairs of men nor will I now enquire; how far this may or may not within its province approach to it or partake of it. Holland copies in ſome meaſure this pattern by extenſive ariſtocracies and is in compariſon of its territory the firſt country on the globe for trade, for opulence and for numbers of inhabitants: the Swiſs come yet more nearly to it; although nevertheleſs ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance: theſe want the ſea, the ſcene of commerce and the ſource of riches; they are however a happy people. It is perhaps reſerved for our American Colonies to erect the firſt republics on this plan and who knows; but that they may in conſequence thereof together with the other improvements to be expected among mankind arrive one day to

a degree of happineſs and of proſperity and may enjoy a ſtability hitherto unknown and unexperienced in civil governments? Can any one pretend to explain; whether Providence is not in his unfathomable wiſdom and by the means of our conduct, however ſtrange and unaccountable upon any plan of human prudence or reaſon, at this inſtant raiſing in America the ſtandard of liberty and preparing a refuge and an aſylum for the enſlaved and the oppreſſed of different parts of the earth? The governments there forced and broken off from us will at their command have vaſt tracts and regions ſufficient to receive and to accommodate a good part of Europe; whoſe domeſtic oppreſſions and miſeries will not fail to drive them into countries ſo much freer and ſo much happier than their own. It is not neceſſary; that there ſhould be a leader eſpecially commiſſioned from Heaven or that the waves of the Atlantic ocean ſhould be divided and ſhould ſtand on an heap for that purpoſe: the deſire of good and the averſion to evil perpetually preſent in every human breaſt will be a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night to conduct them thither. Are the Germans

mans at this time ignorant of the chart of that country or do the Iriſh, the Engliſh and the Scotch leaving their taxes and their burthens behind them not crowd already the ſame road? Were it cuſtomary to magnify thoſe; who ſerve or who aggrandize us with an evil will and againſt their intentions: ſome men might perhaps be then celebrated, painted and ſtatued for the fathers and the founders of American Commonwealths; who now bid fair to be only heard of in hiſtory, as having ruined and overturned their own monarchy. I ſpeak with the moſt profound reverence; but I do not believe it to be the ultimate end and purpoſe of an all-benevolent Providence: that ſo great a part of the human ſpecies ſhould perpetually remain under their preſent bondage and that civility and ſlavery ſhall for ever be almoſt conſtant companions of each other. Clouds will ariſe in the political, as well as in the natural world; but ſo will they likewiſe paſs away or the ſunſhine of liberty will break forth in other parts. I truſt; that the civilized portion of our ſpecies is upon the whole notwithſtanding ſome croſs and untoward occurrences happening at times and at

places conſtantly advancing and improving in their freedom. The condition of our earth is undoubtedly new, new in compariſon not only of eternity; but of time. It is but little more than twenty centuries, not more than the ſucceſſive lives of fifteen ſuch perſons as our countryman Parr; ſince that the firſt human hiſtory was written. What a ſpan! Men are but beginning to emerge out of their natural barbarity into national communities and ſocieties: we are as yet perfect novices in the art of framing or of modelling inſtitutions of that ſort. Our inward nature muſt ever remain the ſame: the ſeeds of ambition, of avarice and of the other ſelfiſh paſſions having been ſown in our breaſts from the firſt will in all appearance never be rooted out; but the outward circumſtances of things will very much vary. Mankind will in time grow more upon their guard againſt one another: nations will by degrees learn how to provide more effectual defences and ſecurities againſt the deſigns and the attempts, the force and the artifice of thoſe; to whom they confide their governments and by whom it is, that they are moſt commonly undone. Letters may do much: they enlighten the world:

world: the preſent, frequent, increaſing, public and private uſe of them muſt not only inform and inſtruct the multitude and the many; but muſt likewiſe enable them better to move and to act together for their common intereſts and concerns; than they formerly did or could without any or with but little of ſuch communication. America is now arming and muſtering, almoſt to a man; we alike catch good and evil of each other. Who knows; but that this may become the practice of nations? On that rock will then be founded the freedom of mankind: This ſeems to be the means by which deſpotiſm muſt one day receive its mortal blow. A few bearing the ſword do ever oppreſs the helpleſs public; but how can one man tyranniſe over millions of his equals, all of them armed and ready for their own defence? Whatever country deſires to maintain its independance againſt foreign foes and its freedom againſt domeſtic ones; let it copy the preſent conduct of the Americans and keep the whole body of its people armed and muſtered: in which caſe, if I may make bold to uſe ſo high an expreſſion, the gates of hell will not be able

to

to prevail againſt its liberty. But what will then become of Great-Britain in theſe halcyon times of America or of mankind? Who knows whether ſhe may not wiſh to take ſhelter under the ſhadow of ſtates, ſo lately her own provinces and her own dependencies? Whether our only poſſible means of eſcaping the laſt diſtreſſes and calamities incident to a nation may not be; if that they ſhall protect us from the creditors of our government, from our neighbours, from our rivals and from all others; who may be willing to inſult a fallen, an abject and a helpleſs people: I ſay; if that their own reaſon or, I am very ſorry to add, the unhappy precedent of Great-Britain ſhall teach them of what extreme, mutual utility, advantage and aſſiſtance two great branches of the ſame nation may be to one another: when united and connected by conſent in their intereſts; however diſtant and divided by the ocean in their dwellings. This will indeed be a very different ſituation from having America at our feet; but we may well be content to turn our backs on that ſentence and leave it to be engraven on the monument of him,

from

from whom it came. It is ſurely a moſt unfit and moſt unbecoming expreſſion and which all parties ſhould wiſh to be buried in oblivion; but how different a temper ſeems to prevail in ſome men, from that: when ſchemes are at this moment laid and means are now preparing to waſte with fire and with ſword and to deluge with blood that continent for the very end of carrying it into execution? Great-Britain however had need both then and at this time to ſee to her own concerns. Foreign reliance is but a ſlender reed in the hands of thoſe; who have ruined themſelves. That the ſyſtem of benevolence is a right and a real policy in the conduct of nations and in their government of others; may perhaps be believed by a few philoſophers in their cloſets; be repreſented by a ſmall number of moraliſts in their writings; be preached from the pulpit by ſome one truly worthy to attend at the altars of the Divinity, one happily blending the publie ſpirit of patriotiſm with the charity of our holy religion: but it is to be feared; that the hiſtories, the examples, the experience of many ages to come are yet required; before that great ſtates

and

and empires ſhall actually and effectually adopt it into their practice. Should theſe dreams and theſe viſions ever be ſooner or later in any degree realized; we ſhall find and our former provinces will find; that proſperity and ſuperiority readily forget the rules and the reſolutions made or approved in adverſity and in humility. Our condition however demands inſtant aſſiſtance: the clouds are collected: the ſtorm is about to burſt upon our heads: the thunders begin to roll and the lightnings to fly: our miniſters are notwithſtanding leading us further into the wilderneſs: it is high time for the collective wiſdom of the nation to exert itſelf and the conſtitution: peace, peace, peace is the only protection held forth to us by Providence in this great and this dangerous conjuncture.

What methods can we then take towards that deſirable end? To which I muſt anſwer; that ſome men affect to talk ſo harſh a language and ſeem ſo fond of every means to diſſever us from our colonies; that I hardly know, whether it is lawful for me to ſignify my wiſh: that there was preſerved a conjunction, a connection, a corre-

correſpondence between honeſt and well-intentioned men of England and of America the better to counteract the enemies of both countries and for watching every opening and opportunity to reſtore the ancient harmony and tranquility between us. It is certainly our true intereſt inſtead of prohibiting to encourage in continuing an intercourſe with their friends and their families over the Atlantic ſuch perſons; as having property and poſſeſſions there nevertheleſs remain with us at this moment out of a ſort of affection and of attachment to Great-Britain. Theſe are ſo many links and chains holding together us and that weſtern continent: they may poſſibly be one day by prudent and by proper means made of eſſential ſervice between us; but the ſame infatuation ſeems to affect all our meaſures from the firſt and the higheſt to the ſmalleſt and the loweſt. As to what we are to do more immediately within ourſelves; the adviſers of war and the hounds of blood lead us the way. Let us follow their footſteps, purſue their paths, but for the contrary purpoſe; for the preſerving this great empire, which their endeavours tend to confound and to deſtroy. One body of men have ſince the Revolution chiefly had

poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of our government: they ſapped by corruption all the outworks of the conſtitution: liberty was perpetually in their mouths and their diſcourſe; but proſtitution was in their hearts and their actions. The wind has lately veered and another ſet have ſince ſucceeded to the helm. Theſe are now endeavouring to make up for the time paſt by outdoing their predeceſſors: they are flinging down the fences, which the others had undermined to their hands: they have revived the principles of ſlavery and have added them to an increaſe of the ſame deteſtable pecuniary influence. Both theſe were however only two venal factions; who perverted in their turns the ſacred name of government to their own corruption: the public continued in the mean time an helpleſs prey without power between them. But endeavours are now uſing to involve the nation itſelf and to make them conſenting and concurring to their own ruin. What will then remain; except that we ſhall be totally ripe and ready for deſtruction with none left among us to lift up their hands towards heaven and to aſk even, how they have deſerved it? Such are thy ways, O Providence, while men are diſputing;

diſputing; whether it is thy moſt wiſe and moſt juſt laws or their own folly, phrenſy and tyranny, which do and which ought to govern the world!

Let us however hope for ſome happier iſſue. The vaſt powers of the crown and the very free uſe of them conſidered, where is the wonder; if a few thouſands of men are ſubſcribing of papers to pleaſe and to flatter an adminiſtration? What proportion or what compariſon do theſe bear to the whole body of the kingdom; who moſt undoubtedly and moſt ardently deſire an end of this worſt of all wars and theſe moſt ruinous of all meaſures? It is our ſilence and our acquieſcence, which make us acceſſaries to the guilt of thoſe; who are going to give the laſt ſtroke to our country. God and men require of every people to reſtrain within due bounds their own rulers. Governments direct under the appointment and the authority of the people; but the people act and execute with their own hands: the people man the navies and compoſe the armies; which carry fire and ſword, devaſtation and deſolation over the earth: the people are the immediate inſtruments in miſchief

miſchief and ſo are they likewiſe the main victims of it: the calamities conſequent to a public miſconduct ever fall chiefly and moſt heavily upon their body. What are the misfortunes of a few men or a few families ſuffering their portion of the evils cauſed by their own counſels in compariſon of the general diſtreſs and miſery of a whole people; although I do not at all mean; that even the others commonly do or that they will on this occaſion in particular eſcape a ſhare of ſuch miſchiefs fully ſufficient to make likewiſe them earneſtly to repent of their part in the production of them? Why are then ſo few found who ſet their hands to the ſaving of their country; when ſo many are ſigning to their ruin? If we approach with petitions the Royal preſence; the cry of the public could not but ſtart and drive away any one, who lurks behind the throne and who poiſons with evil counſels the ear of our Prince and if that there is ſuch a perſon. If we preſume to apply to our Parliament; that powerful body is able to bind certain madmen in the chains of the conſtitution and to make them conduct themſelves at leaſt with leſs danger and leſs damage to the public: whether

or

no they will ever be turned into very deep politicians or very diſintereſted patriots. What witholds then, the cool and the conſiderate and (I am perfectly perſwaded) by much the major part of the nation, the friends and the favourers of peace from offering in their turn to our King and to the other branches of our legiſlature humble; but general and earneſt petitions for the purpoſe of ſaving the whole, of ſaving even thoſe who are endeavouring to deſtroy both the reſt and themſelves? Theſe are the proper prayers for drawing down once again the dove of Heaven among us; but which due means if we neglect, we ſhall no more deſerve her happy preſence; than we did, when ſhe was of late ſo raſhly and ſo fatally and no one knows why driven away from this empire.

On what conditions then can peace be made? In anſwer to which I muſt in my turn aſk; how vain is it for individuals to be propoſing plans on that ſubject in oppoſition to the obſtinacy of thoſe; who poſſeſs all the power of the nation and who appear plainly to have no ſuch intentions? The door of that bleſſed Temple would readily have been thrown open to

us; if we had ever ſignified any ſincere deſire of entering into it: but nothing of that ſort has from the beginning of theſe broils to the preſent moment come from our miniſters, nothing but a conſtant demand of an abſolute ſubjection on the part of the Colonies; however ſome men at a diſtance from our counſels may at times have deceived themſelves on this head. As to that crude, indigeſted, perplexed, obſcure parcel of words complimented by ſome with the title of a conciliatory plan; it appears proper only to expoſe the poor conceptions of its authors and how very far theſe were from having any ideas fit for the compoſing our preſent moſt high and moſt unhappy troubles. It met accordingly with nothing, but contempt in the country; which it concerned. It ſeems to have faſtened and to have riveted to the general union the colony of New-York; which it was in all appearance particularly intended to divide and to ſeparate from the reſt and which was ſuppoſed to be at that time wavering and doubtful. It could not but operate in the like manner with our other Colonies; as it plainly betrayed how little was to be expected towards peace from the

the quarter of adminiſtration. The ſame caſe ſtill continues. The Continental Congreſs ſent by Mr. Penn their laſt addreſs and application. It is publicly underſtood, that they will on the news of its being neglected take ſome very vigorous ſteps towards independence. We are in the mean time purpoſely ſuffering the preſent moſt precious ſeaſon to elapſe and to paſs by without moving hand or foot towards an accommodation. We declare; that we will have nothing to do with the bodies particularly delegated by the Americans and in whom they eſpecially confide. We talk of treating only at the point of the ſword. We affect to make a myſtery of our terms. No hints are flung out of conſenting to recall on any conditions whatſoever the act altering the charter of Maſſachuſets-Bay or of giving ſecurity and ſatisfaction to our Colonies in general concerning the boundaries or other grievances of the Quebec-bill; without which points it is not to be expected, that a ſingle man in America will lay down his arms. What does all this mean and much more that might be mentioned; but a full determination to march without turning to the right or to the left di-

rectly forwards in our firſt road; to try the whole chance and to riſque the worſt conſequences of a civil war; to ſtake the all of England on the caſt in hopes of bringing America to bend under our abſolute power: although there is at the ſame time no more probability of ſucceeding in that project, than of obtaining the command of the moon? Good God in Heaven; how do ſome men trifle with the fate of this nation!

But a numerous commiſſion is to be named; which will do wonders. I will not now inquire after what manner ſuch perſons are likely to be received in America; if they ſhall refuſe to treat with the repreſentatives of the country, when they come there. But my anſwer is; that our Coloniſts muſt have liberty and property in its ſubſtance and its eſſence nor will they on any other terms be contented: we muſt conſent to paſs that point; if we mean ever to have peace with them more. A child may be the tale-bearer, if ſuch is our real purpoſe and reſolution; but no commiſſioners in the world will be equal to the work; if it is only intended to out-wit them by treaty into what

what we have in vain endeavoured to force them with the ſword; if our deſign is at the bottom no deeper or no better than under the colour and the cover of negotiating and by the means of certain Engliſh arts of bribing, of corrupting, of holding forth perſonal or provincial advantages to make ſome weak attempts for the disjoining and the dividing thoſe; whom our own acts and our own meaſures have moſt ſtrongly united and cemented. What a poor, pitiful, cobweb policy and having in it, full as little ſtrength, as honeſty; are all ſuch methods? The Americans will in that caſe baffle or avoid our artifices even with more facility; than they have reſtrained and reſiſted our arms. Our commiſſioners had much better be content at home than to expoſe us and themſelves beyond the Atlantic; if ſuch only are to be their errand and their inſtructions.

It may here be repeated; let us nevertheleſs draw nearer to the very terms of reconciliation: but I muſt again aſk; why do not the proper perſons inquire after them at Philadelphia; where men are met qualified and commiſſioned to anſwer any due

queſtion on that ſubject? The writer can only pretend to point towards the ground; which very many before him have already marked out in vain. We are however taught; that the ſmalleſt mite offered with a fit intention will not be refuſed even of the higheſt. It becomes no man to be backward at doing his duty towards his country in its laſt moments. Where will be the great damage of giving a few words to the wind, after numberleſs others far more worthy than mine gone the ſame way and on the ſame occaſion? I will therefore not ſcruple to expreſs at leaſt the wiſh of one individual and what he believes would in the preſent caſe be moſt for the benefit of Great-Britain and perhaps not very far from the acceptance of the colonies.* We muſt in the firſt place recall our fleets, our armies, our martial governors and put an end to all the apparel and appearance of war there. This needs no explanation. We muſt moreover fully, effectually, perfectly convince all that continent; that we retain not the leaſt intention of ruling them for the future

* This was written before it was known; that the Americans had made themſelves maſters of any part of Canada.

ture by military means. No peace can be expected for us with America either now or in time to come; except on that ground. We can after certain events with but an evil grace force our troops upon them under the pretence of protection nor can they with a much better demand them of us, as neceſſary for their defence. We ſhall by this means ſave both our men and our money; neither of which can we well ſpare. Let us likewiſe fling upon them the expences of their own civil governments: let them pay their officers on that eſtabliſhment more or leſs and in ſuch manner; as they pleaſe themſelves. They cannot then pretend diſcontent on that head and what is it to us? Here will be another œconomy. I will give the authority of a miniſterial writer; that theſe ſavings will according to a common and current calculation amount to no leſs than 300,000 pounds a year:* but who would know, at what rate to reckon them; if the preſent job was to be taken into the account? We firſt run ourſelves into

* Dr. Tucker's Humble Addreſs, p. 83. America drains us for thoſe purpoſes [to maintain its civil and military eſtabliſhments] of upwards of 300,000l. annually.

enormous expences for very bad purpoſes and we then make the matter much worſe by unjuſt and by oppreſſive means of ſupplying them. This is one article. The next is; a compleat, intire, unreſerved, unexcepted repeal of all the offenſive and obnoxious acts of parliament paſſed ſince the preſent peace, the declaratory bill included. How happy muſt every Engliſhman be to ſee them expunged out of our ſtatute book! It will be like flinging out of a houſe the brands, which are ſetting it on fire. The language to us laſt year of the Continental Congreſs was "place us in the ſame ſituation, that we were at the cloſe of the laſt war and our former harmony will be reſtored."* What could we have expected more; if an angel had deſcended from heaven and had delivered an olive branch to America; who had held it forth to Great-Britain? Are not theſe the very terms; which every prudent man would have deſired: had we been ourſelves to have dictated them? What planet has been uppermoſt or how has the moon erred for theſe three years? I have here offered my two firſt articles: unleſs

* See their Letter to the People of Great-Britain.

unleſs we conſent to which; we had need to ſpill almoſt every drop of blood in America. There remains then one more point. The wounds of that country are now open and bleeding nor will be healed without leaving ſtrong marks and ſcars. Our deſire of a revenue is yet unſatisfied. Suffer the writer here to repeat a former propoſition of his own. To open and to enlarge the commerce of our colonies is the true means of our mutual contentment. It is a ſure reſource to enrich us and the fit ſalve for their ſores: it will be the beſt act of oblivion to induce a forgetfulneſs of all paſt injuries and offences. I mean nothing which ſhall ſow a jealouſy or diſſention between our dependencies; but a general meaſure, that they ſhould all be aſſiſted according to the eſpecial occaſion and exigencies of each. I will not now dwell on this ſubject. I have formerly done it more fully.* How very far greater profit and benefit muſt to our treaſury ariſe from the ſavings and the means here mentioned; than from all what we could hope to have levied by odious and by vexatious taxes laid upon a country;

* See Conſiderations, &c. p. 130 & ſeq.

country; which now plainly appears to have in the laſt neceſſity no gold or ſilver even for its own uſe? We have had our project: we have made a moſt unjuſt attempt: we have been beaten and been baffled for our pains: we ſhall nevertheleſs gain in the end and in this manner what we wanted and we deſired; although ſo very undeſervedly. Some perſons will poſſibly reflect here; how much better all theſe things might have been obtained in peace; but let us draw th: veil over that point: diſcontent and perhaps deſpair lie that way. Theſe are then my three propoſitions for the re-union in preſent and the harmony in time to come of our empire: to withdraw our forces and to leave our Colonies to their own civil governments; to recall our late American laws; to increaſe the commerce of that country. But if we do not purſue this or ſome ſuch plan, what is on the other ſide; except downright madneſs, the diſtemper of Moorfields and the politicks of Bedlam?

But will ſuch terms be ſufficient and ſatisfactory in the ſight of our countrymen over the Atlantic?——It is but a ſhort time paſt; that peace was in our own keeping: we wantonly broke it then: the

conſent

conſent of others muſt now be required, before it can be reſtored. We certainly might with our Colonies have again coaleſced on theſe conditions within the period of the preſent year; but every moon widens the breach between us and adds to our own diſgrace and miſcarriage. We do ourſelves make it difficult to anſwer for the immediate moment. I truſt however, that preliminaries nearly reſembling thoſe now mentioned might at leaſt ſerve for a foundation; whereon to build up once more the temple of peace among us: if that ſome men at home were but half as much inclined; as they ſeem to be averſe to that meaſure. A great deal would depend on the manner in which theſe things were done and every honeſt man muſt hope: that our reconciliation ſhould be made, as ſincerely and as cordially; as our quarrel was occaſioned raſhly and inconſiderately. I muſt however add, that the time now preſſes; no moment is to be ſpared; we ſtand upon the brink of a gulph; the ground crumbles under our feet; no man knows how ſoon we may ſink to riſe no more. If the next vernal æquinox (near as it is) does not find us entered into ſome hopeful and ſome probable

bable treaty of accommodation; we ſhall in all appearance never ſee again our late provinces under our dominion: but they will hoiſt the flags of their riſing Republics;* they will ſet up the ſtandard of their new nation: we muſt wage war with them, as with a ſeparate people; the next convention between us will very likely be upon a level and an equality or Great-Britain or England may poſſibly receive from them the law of the Conqueror. I don't know; whether the condition of theſe times is not ſuch; that even a Miniſter may be too big to be approached by ſincerity; that he may be ſurrounded with a circle of flattery: although not quite ſo wide and ſo impenetrable, as that of his Maſter. I know ſtill leſs; whether theſe poor proverbs of mine will ever find their way to any levy of the great: ſhould ſuch a chance however happen; they may poſſibly tell a perſon truths; which they about him may be backward to ſpeak. The writer will not ſcruple ſaying to ſuch a one; that an inſtant reconciliation with our countrymen of America on the terms of maintaining and

* Some of theſe things have already happened.

and of allowing to them their liberty and their property is the only probable expedient under heaven to preſerve his country and perhaps himſelf. It is however to be feared; that there is little likelihood of ſo prudent a ſtep being taken: but this caution may then be poſſibly one day remembered; when it will be too late and when the ruin at leaſt of the one, if not of both, ſhall be irrevocable. If the clock has already ſtruck the laſt hour; if the moment of accommodation is even now no more; what have not ſome men to anſwer for?

Suppoſe however that America ſhould make an offer or a tender of ſome fixed, certain, annual contribution: I anſwer; that any end may perhaps be better than our preſent proceedings; but that we have on our great occaſions and exigencies ever received from thoſe provinces moſt ample help and aſſiſtance: whenever we have required or requeſted it of them. They have equally ſupported us with their men and their money in war; as they have benefited us with their trade and their commerce in peace. They are an improving people and our advantages by their means

means might therefore be expected to increaſe in proportion. Shall we then abandon this bountiful and this plentiful ſtream conſtantly flowing in the time of our want and our neceſſity like the river Nile for ſome mean, pitiful, artificial rivulet: only becauſe we can meaſure or can command the waters of the one; when it is our particular happineſs; that thoſe of the other know no bounds? What will poſterity in that caſe ſay of us; but that as this meaſure was begun in madneſs, ſo it was finiſhed in folly?

So much for an immediate accommodation: but our miſchief lies deeper: there remains more to be done, if we would employ the fit and the effectual remedy. Our repreſentation is loſt or is at leaſt in ſuſpenſe. It need not be repeated, that a majority of the members of our Houſe of Commons is named by a ſmall part of the people in compariſon of the whole: their actions and their reſolutions have therefore no neceſſary connection with the ſentiments and the inclinations of the nation at large. The hatchet of this preſent American war might be buried or be hidden, the ſubject of our actual

tual contention might be dropped or be ſettled; but the pride of a prince, the reſentment of a favourite, the rapaciouſneſs of a miniſter, the violence of a faction or any other equally trifling and inſignificant cauſe will ever be ſufficient to kindle again the ſame flame: unleſs we can for a check and a controul in ſuch caſes rely upon the independence and the ſteadineſs of our repreſentatives. The two bodies of our people will at their own choice never wage war with each other and imbrue their hands in the blood of their brethren: their intereſts are too much united and their mutual affection is overwell founded; but what is the caprice of a ſingle perſon governed by his paſſions and having perhaps his head turned with an opinion of his power more to be depended on, than a weather-cock moved with the wind? The circumſtance is very little different of a few men; whoſe actions and whoſe motions all refer to thoſe of one. The proper redreſs for this is an equal repreſentation; give me leave to repeat; that it is our original and our fundamental right. It might have been moſt happy for our empire in general and for Britain in particular; if a demand of this great

great right could in ſome proper and ſome peaceable manner have been blended with the juſt claims of the Americans: that the reſtoration of our own conſtitution at home might have gone hand in hand with the re-eſtabliſhment of the franchiſes of our fellow-ſubjects beyond the Atlantic. We might then have hoped for the peace, the union, the harmony of the parts and for the grandeur, the ſplendor, the proſperity, the ſtability of the whole; I will not ſay until time ſhall be no more, which is not the lot of mortality; but perhaps with a duration and to a degree hitherto unexampled in the hiſtory of mankind. We ſhould then have had reaſon to bleſs the unfathomable wiſdom of Providence for leading us by theſe broils to ſo fortunate an end; although not to thank thoſe thoughtleſs and headlong men, who were the authors of them. But theſe unhappy troubles exceeding the common courſe and the peaceable bounds of our conſtitution ſeem to have made any ſuch meaſure now impoſſible; even if it was not ſo before. Should however in the future revolutions of fate our late provinces ever come to a conſiderable power and to an extenſive influence among nations;

tions; the beſt boon, which they can confer upon their dependencies and at the ſame time the moſt probable to attach them by a conformity of government to themſelves, will be legiſlative bodies truly and really repreſentative of each reſpective people. This important object is however with regard to Great-Britain not to be totally deſpaired of and abandoned or at leaſt not on the account before mentioned: it is nevertheleſs left for us to purſue among ourſelves. Theſe diſturbances are now but beginning: but there are in all appearance before us other events, other trials, other exigencies, which will demand all the united wiſdom of our nation; the moſt perfect fidelity of thoſe intruſted by us; the fulleſt confidence of the public in our parliaments; I ſay, will require theſe things on account of the crown, as well as of the country; of the prince, as well as of the ſubject. Nothing can give us a government attended with theſe advantages and adequate to our difficulties; except an equal election. It is our buſineſs to avail ourſelves of the opportunity ariſing from the perſonal virtue of the members compoſing our preſent

Houſe of Commons to apply for and to obtain this point. I am perſwaded, that we ſhall not be refuſed it upon petitions from different parts of the nation, ſuch as become the ſubject humble, dutiful, reſpectful; but at the ſame time exerting the whole force and influence of the conſtitution. Our preſent and our approaching ſituation ſuffers us no longer to reſt in a ſtate of indifference. Corruption has ruined itſelf; it can no longer retain its rule and its command: that moſt filthy monſter has devoured its own vitals, as well as thoſe of the government. The nation ſtands at this time on ſuch terms; that we muſt either periſh immediately and deſervedly or muſt recover the conſtitution for ourſelves and for thoſe to come after us: we have however no reaſon to refuſe this condition; the future welfare and greatneſs of our country are placed before us, as a prize; if we will attempt and will obtain it by means, which are perfectly within our own power. I truſt, that the author has no neceſſity to explain which way are his wiſhes on the occaſion and the heart of every honeſt man muſt ſurely attend him: I cannot however

however deny but that my mind much miſgives me, while I am writing theſe words; the proſpect appears very faint on the ſide of this deluſive paradiſe: would to Heaven; that our real evils and misfortunes were but half as uncertain, half as far removed from effect; as are any ſuch flattering, but it is to be feared, only vain and fanciful conceptions.

It is time, that I ſhould come to my concluſion. I may be told, that I have written freely. I have certainly written from my heart and, I truſt, with no more freedom; than is becoming and is demanded by my ſubject. When the trumpets ſound and the drums beat to battle; he had need to ſpeak aloud, who deſires to be heard; eſpecially if he preaches peace. When the ſea rages and the tempeſt roars, every one muſt raiſe his voice; unleſs he means to give his words to the winds and the waves. Did a paſſenger ſee the ſhip ready to run upon a rock, in which he was embarked with his all; would it at once not be his duty, his right and his intereſt to warn the company of their danger and to call upon the pilot to

avoid it? How ſtrange muſt it be; if it was permitted for ſome perſons to deſtroy the ſtate and forbidden for others to repreſent to them, that they are ſo doing? There is in poetry a beautiful fable of one ſaid to have paſſed ſafe through the world below by virtue of the golden branch of a certain tree; which he carried before him. I will not now enquire critically; whether truth is under a fine allegory there figured; but I truſt, that whoever holds in his hand that powerful charm and bears in his breaſt the love of his country; may march free from miſchief in any world governed by a benevolent and a beneficent Providence: the writer deſires no longer the regard of mankind or the protection of the laws; than he ſhall continue to be conducted by thoſe two ſacred guides nor does he know the preſervation of the Britiſh empire to be a leſs noble object, than the foundation of the Roman. He riſques his reputation and the ridicule of his neighbours; who ventures to ſpeak frankly about events to come and remaining in the womb of time: that is ſurely ſtake enough for any honeſt man to hazard. The adminiſtra-

tion

tion have however taken extraordinary care of our credit on this account. It is ſtrange, with what rapidity they have realiſed the many expectations and apprehenſions ſignified to them of approaching miſchiefs. I don't know to what they can in that reſpect be compared; except to a pilot, who ſhould run upon every beacon placed on purpoſe to warn him of his danger. Where would then be the wonder, if any one ſhould be emboldened by events; if he ſhould believe himſelf intitled and warranted to ſpeak freely in future upon the experience and the authority of what had already proved true and taken place? Why do our miniſters not make advantage of theſe circumſtances and look into their own conduct; why do they not ſteer clear of the rocks remarked to them or at leaſt learn to be more wiſe and more cautious by their errors? Why do they not falſify what people pretend to foreſee or to foretell about the evil effects of their meaſures and ſilence ſuch perſons by ſhame and by the diſappointment of their opinions? The paraſites and the ſycophants, the placemen and the penſioners of miniſters will

by means of the power behind them ever ſtand on higher ground, than the friends and the advocates of liberty and of the public. Should any one be offended at freedom, let him reflect on the miſchief done by flattery; whoſe poiſon time-ſerving and ſelf-intereſted men are perpetually pouring into the ears of thoſe, where it is moſt noxious. Let every one prove himſelf ready to hear the gentle voice of reaſon; before he blames or impeaches the bolder ſpeech of liberty.

My race is at length nearly run. Providence ſuperintends all things and all nations. The eternal purpoſe of that tranſcendent exiſtence appears to be the general and the univerſal happineſs of the whole. He ſeems to have in the diffuſion of his infinite benevolence ordained certain rules and laws, connected certain cauſes and effects before the birth of time, without beginning and without end. Theſe promote and enſure that moſt bleſſed object: their force and their influence can be avoided or eluded by no beings whatſoever: from their fountain flow two important duties among men; that nations

tions ſhould govern with mercy and with moderation thoſe dependent upon them; that they ſhould in a proper manner prevent from diſturbing the peace of mankind thoſe entruſted by them with their public, combined ſtrength and power. Theſe are perpetual and unalterable rules of right; they obtain in all places, at all times, on all occaſions, whenever and wherever they are applicable; they particularly and eſſentially concern us at this inſtant: we ſhall ſerve the ſupreme purpoſe in leading others to their ſafety and their welfare by the example of our misfortunes and our miſeries; if we ſhall neglect or ſhall counteract them: we ſhall ſerve the ſame in our own enjoyment of benefits and of bleſſings; if we ſhall obſerve and ſhall purſue them. Which of theſe means we ſhall chuſe depends upon ourſelves: our preſent ſupineneſs and indifference in American affairs will ſatisfy the one; a more active conduct and exertion of the conſtitution will be required for the other. We are on the verge of fate; we are already late in the day: there remains for us no more than a moment of which to avail ourſelves: that we may do what will mo t

contribute

contribute to the preſervation, the proſperity, the felicity of our empire in general and of Great-Britain in particular is the earneſt prayer and deſire and, let me be permitted to add, the only deſign of the writer.

Dec. 1775.

POSTSCRIPT.

ACCOUNTS come from America during the printing of the preceding papers are ſo material and ſo important and have in ſome reſpects ſo changed the ſtate of my ſubject; that I would willingly offer a few words more, before I finiſh. Our countrymen there are now known to have in great meaſure poſſeſſed themſelves of the province of Canada, to have taken priſoners the chief part of the regular forces ſtationed by us in it for its defence and to have been left beſieging Quebec. The war at land ſeems to be already decided. Some men may be ſo obſtinately bent, as nevertheleſs to perſiſt in proceeding with it; but it muſt ſurely be even in their own conceptions without any

any hopes or almoſt poſſibility of ſucceſs. Our thirteen Colonies are now become ſo many independent commonwealths and we may perhaps hear before long; that a fourteenth French one is joined and aſſociated to their union. We have ourſelves by a late act of parliament very much treated our own, as ſuch: it muſt be expected; that other ſtates likewiſe will ſoon begin to look upon them in the ſame light. It is power; which gives reſpect to a people. The Americans will from this time underſtand themſelves to be maſters at home and will moſt likely act in that manner and talk in that tone. They will believe it to depend on themſelves; whether they ſhall again ſubmit to what they will perhaps call our yoke and tell us, that we have made it too heavy for them to bear. Theſe are the actions of our Herculean colonies in their cradle: they have been done by them in the courſe of one campaign or in leſs than a twelvemonth; with almoſt no loſs, without allies, without the uſe of gold or of ſilver. They cannot have been the ſingle effects either of the wiſdom of their counſels or of the weak-

neſs

neſs of ours: both the one and the other undoubtedly have in a great degree contributed to them. The winter is withal not weathered: who knows what further events it may yet produce? Will it be owing to our foreſight and our prudence; if that neither Halifax with our ſtores nor Boſton with our troops follow the fate of Canadian forts? As our Colonies have riſen, ſo, I am ſorry to ſay, muſt Great-Britain be ſunk; which we ſhall certainly find by the effects. We are now by no means the ſame nation, as we were three years ago. It will be well; if we ſhall not ſoon feel ſome diſtreſs even at ſea. The Americans have hitherto refrained from meddling with our mercantile veſſels. Will not the late act of parliament expoſing all their commerce to our hoſtilities let them likewiſe looſe upon ours? Does not it almoſt ſeem to be a meaſure contrived for that very end? Might we not have waited and have ſeen; whether they would have begun this new kind of enmity between us? Would not that have been at leaſt ſo much time got and gained to our merchants? We have declared war againſt their trade, which is none, and have by that means commiſ-

ſioned

ſioned them againſt our own, which is great. What has at the bottom then been the cauſe of our many miſchiefs?—I will make bold to reply; corruption.—What is the remedy for them?—He muſt perhaps be more than man who ſhall anſwer that. The writer however will for one in this perhaps the laſt criſis of our country preſume to ſpeak his humble opinion: he means his ſentiments on a ſuppoſition; that the ſtate of things is and will on a fair experience or examination be found much ſuch, as has been here repreſented. Let us then make in the firſt place inſtant peace with our Colonies on the terms of our giving or our leaving to them a full and a free traffic throughout the world, but of their returning again under the former ſyſtem of our government reſtrained however from exceſs; if that they will accept of ſuch conditions. Let us allow the ſame liberty of commerce to our Iſlands of the Weſt-Indies and to Ireland. Let us make Great-Britain from one end to the other an intire free port for unexcepted importation and exportation: let us for that purpoſe aboliſh all our cuſtoms and raiſe our whole revenue by internal

ternal means. Let us by a real militia arm all our people and not a ſmall part of them only by a ſtanding army under the name of one: let us in this reſpect imitate the Americans and defend ourſelves againſt others by the ſame means, as they have defended themſelves againſt us. Laſtly let us eſtabliſh general and equal elections of the members of our Houſe of Commons. Let us do theſe things without the Americans and on condition only of their aſſiſtance againſt other nations; if that they ſhall decline coming once more to any nearer connection with us: their aid and their help we may one day enough want; whatever we now think on that head. We may by theſe means hope to preſerve under heaven and at all probable events our King, our government and our country: but whether we are likely ſo to do without taking all and the whole of theſe ſteps, it may become me to pull the veil over my opinion; eſpecially as the truth urges and preſſes me moſt unwillingly to ſay; that there is at preſent hardly the leaſt appearance of our purſuing any or at beſt more than one of them. Here then I take my final leave, truſting

that

that no offence will ariſe from the offer of fit advice: but may the counſels given by every man among us for his country be upon himſelf; whether they ſhall be good or ſhall be ill.

Jan. 1776.